

THE  
DIFFERENCE  
Between the  
POWER  
OF  
MAGISTRATES  
AND  
CHURCH-PASTORS,  
AND THE  
ROMAN KINGDOM & MAGISTRACY  
Under the Name of a  
CHURCH & CHURCH-GOVERNMENT  
Usurped by the Pope, or liberally given him by  
Popish Princes :

Opened by Richard Baxter.

To the Learned and Sincere *Ludovicus Molinæus* D<sup>r</sup> of Physick, and Author  
of *Regnum Cæle, Papa ultrajectianæ*, and other Books on this subject.

For the Vindication of the true Pastoral Discipline, exercised by the An-  
cient Churches, and claimed, but alas, too little exercised, by the Churches  
called *Protestant* and *Reformed*.

And to acquaint Posterity what we hold in this, that false accusations  
misinform them not.

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three Crowns, near *Holborn Conduit*. 1671.



# READER

**T**HE first Epistle is now written upon the sight of Jugulum Causæ: The other with the Propositions was written about a year and half ago, upon the sight of Papa ultrajeſtinus, &c. and the Paræneſis contra Aedificatores Imperii in Imperio: And the deſign of all is, to ſhew how little or nothing at all the ſober moderate Proteſtants, called Episcopall, Presbyterian, Independent, and Political or Eraſtian are diſagreed in all this buſineſs, whiſt I name you near a hundred Propositions in which they commonly conſent: That Princes and all Magiſtrates may ſee, that they have no cauſe to be offended at the Chriſtian and Proteſtant Doctrine, or to judge the true Religion of any of theſe parties, as ſuch, to be contrary to their intereſt; when in very truth they are in that all one: But that among all Sects and Parties, there will be ſtill ſome injudicious, intemperate and unpeaceable men; eſpecially thoſe whoſe Intereſt in the world is Great, and cannot be upheld, without encroaching on the rights of others: As Great Trees muſt have much room, and ſuffer  
A 2 nothing

nothing to prosper under them, but Weeds and Bryars. And it is to tell Politicians, that the true Pastoral Power (being a Power to labour and suffer in patient self-denyal for the Church of Christ and the souls of men) is past all doubt of Christs appointment: And to diminish that Power, is but to diminish our obligation to labour and suffer, and to gratifie our sloth and fleshly interest. But to diminish that Secular Church-power which Clergie men claim as of Divine Right, is but for Princes to be Princes, whether the Clergie will or no.

And as to the Learned Author, Dr. Lud. Molineus, my meaning is to second him in awaking Magistrates to reassume their proper power, and to leave it in no Clergie mens hands, of what party soever: But as to his reflections on the Protestants Discipline, lovingly to chide him for making the difference seem wider than it is, and to RECONCILE the four Parties, while I distinctly open the common Doctrine of them all, excepting the rigid Opinions of some interested or intemperate individuals.

My



My Learned, Sincere and Worthy Friend;



WHEN I had hastily set down my judgement of the Cause which I found handled in your *Papa Ultrajedinus* and other Writings which you sent me, I cast by that Script (which I intended at the writing of it, for your view) that I might surely keep it from the notice of others; in this Age wherein the prevalency of Interest, Faction, Passion and Injudiciousness, doth make it so great a difficulty, to say any thing for the cure of any mens errors, enormities or impieties, which shall not be charged with the same crime (or greater) which it would cure, and be taken for a disturber of the Church and Peace, which it would save or heal. But now seeing that you renew your endeavours in the same Cause, and finding your *Jugulum Cause* directed to so many hands, by seventy particular Epistles, and that you have honoured me with a place among those great and worthy persons, I take my self obliged to render you some account of my judgement of your Writings, and especially of the whole Cause, by bringing into the open light, those hundred Propositions which I had purposed to conceal: And withal to tell you,

1. That (though you have much overvalued me in your recitation of their report, who would have joyned me with so Great, so Wise and Good a man as A Bishop Usher, and that in so great a work; and experience may tell you, that other men have other thoughts of me, as one unmeet to preach the Gospel in the Land of my Nativity, much more

unmeet to be a decider of the Churches Controversies ) yet you have truly described my judgement of your self and your undertakings. I confess I hope not that ever you should make the *Roman* Usurpation, more palpable, than the falshood of their Doctrine of Transubstantiation ; where they maintain ( not only the Corporal Presence, which is not it that I now mean, but ) that *Bread is not Bread, and Wine is not Wine*, when all men see, taste, smell and feel them : And if the Princes, Doctors, and great men of the world, can thus obstinately deny ( or take on them to deny ) the judgement which is made of sensible objects, by all mens senses, you may gather what fruit you may expect of your labours, or of any Cause how plain soever, where *prejudice* and *seeming interest* are against you ? Can all the Writings or Reasonings in the world, bring any thing to a more *clear and sure* decision, than that of all the senses of all men in the world, about the proper objects of sense ? If *flesh* so far conquer *flesh is self*, and the interest of *sensuality* can cause such men, and such multitudes to renounce the apprehension of all their senses, what have we to do more for the cure of mankind ?

You have made it plain enough, that it is really a part of the Secular Government of Kings and States, which is now commonly called *Ecclesiastical* among the Papists, and as such is challenged and usurped by the Pope, and that Princes that subject their Kingdoms to his Usurpation, do take in a *joint Ruler* with them, and divide their *Kingdoms* or *Power* between themselves and him. But so they *have done*, and so they *will do*, till the Time of the Churches fuller Reformation, and of the Coalition of the Christian world is come.

I know you may think that as *Interest* blindeth them, so this great detection of the Invasion of their *Interest* is the way to bring them to the truth. For who will have a Co-partner with him in his Kingdom, that may choose ? Who had not rather Rule alone, than divide his Kingdom with the Pope ? Undoubtedly they give away more of their own Interest hereby, than you have opened ? When they deliver part of their power to one, who by an *ap-*  
proved

proved General Council of their own, which is the Religion of their Party, *Luer. sub Innoc. 3.*

*Can. 2. 3.* may depose Temporal Lords, ( though no Protestants themselves ) that will not exterminate those that deny Transubstantiation out of their Dominions, and may absolve their subjects from their fidelity, and may give their Countreys unto others. When their most Learned, Renowned, applauded Doctors teach, that the Pope may excommunicate Kings, and that an excommunicated King is no King, and he that killeth him, killeth not a King. When the Roman Council under *Greg. 7.* decreeth,

that the Pope may depose Emperours: And the same *Greg. 7.* li. 4. Ep. 7. conspireth in the like Doctrine. The Oration of Card. *Peron* is well known: If so great a Kingdom as *France*, that glorieth of its Church-liberties, can bear so much, what will not those bear, that are less able to deliver themselves? The words of this Great and pretendedly Moderate Cardinal in a Moderate Kingdom, in a publick Writing against a Protestant Learned King ( *King James* ) pag. 453. ( as cited by *A. Bishop Usher* of *Babylon*, pag. 163. ) is fit to be written on the Doors of all Princes, and of the Pope himself, in Capital Letters; viz. [ By this Article ( that Kings may not be deposed by the Pope ) We are cast headlong into a manifest Heresie, as hindring us to confess, that for many Ages past the Catholick Church hath been banished out of the whole world: For if the Champions of the Doctrine contrary to this Article do hold an impious and detestable opinion contrary to Gods Word, then doubtless the Pope for so many hundred years expired, hath not been the Head of the Church, but a HERETICK and the ANTICHRIST. ]

What would you have more to satisfy Kings, than their own

Read the Declaration against the Oath of Allegiance by *H. I.* for the Popes deposing Kings, par. 15, 17, 27, 43. Read *Hottomans Franco-Gal.* cap. 7. and his *Brutum fulmen*, pag. 87, 97, 98. Read *Wibrighton* and *Barclay* against *Bellarmin* in *Goldastus Tom. 3. de Mon.* And *Bellarmin* against *Barclay* c. 9. Vid. *Suares. 2. advers. sect. Anglic. li. 6. cap. 4. sect. 14. & ca. 6. sect. 11. 24. Aror. Inf. Mor. par. 1. li. 8 c. 13. Dom. Bannes in Thom. 22. q. 12. art. 2. August. Triump. de pestif. Eccl. q. 46. art. 2.* There is no doubt (saith he) but the Pope may depose all Kings when there is reasonable cause for it. ] See the *Jesuits Morals*, and *Mystery of Jesuitism*, and *Myster. Patrum Jesuitarum*.

own profession that, Either the Pope may depose Kings, or else he is not the Head of the Church, but as Heretick and Antichrist, and hath been so for many hundred years. Can you shew their Interest plainlier than all this?

And lest any say, that this is but the Doctrine of the Jesuits, remember that Perron was another kind of man, and the famous Perverter of King Henry the fourth. And I will cite here the words of one more of a multitude, even one that wrote so long ago, as to be numbred with the Fathers in Biblioth. Patr. To. 4 p. 913. and a Roman Cardinal Bertrard Card. & Epif. Eduens. de Orig. & usu Jurisd. Qu. 4. [ *Respondco & dico quod Potestas Spiritualis debet dominari omni humana Creatura per rationes Hostiensis* — Item quia Jesus Christus filius Dei dum fuit in hoc mundo, & etiam ab eterno naturalis dominus fuit, & de jure naturali in Imperatores & quoscunque alios depositionis sententiam ferre potuisset, & damnationis, & quascunque alias: Vixit in personis quas creaverat, & donis naturalibus & gratuito donaverat, & etiam conservabat. Et eadem ratione etiam ejus Vicarius potest. Nam non videtur discretus Dominus fuisse ( ut cum reverentia ejus loquar ) nisi unicuique post se talem Vicarium reliquisset, qui hec omnia posset. Fuit autem iste Vicarius ejus Petrus apud Mattheum: Et idem dicendum est de successoribus Petri, cum eadem absurditas sequeretur, si post mortem Petri humanam naturam a se creatam sine regimine unius persone reliquisset. ]

I will English it lest the unlearned believe not what Fathers, what a Biblioth. Patrum, what Cardinals, and what Doctrines the Roman Clergy obtrude upon the Christian world.

[ I answer and say, that the spiritual Power ought to have domination over every humane creature, by Hostiensis reasons — Also because Jesus Christ the Son of God while he was in this world, and also from Eternity, was the Natural Lord: and by Natural Right, could pass the sentence of Deposition and of Damnation, and any other, upon Emperours and upon any others; as being persons that he had created and endowed with Natural Gifts, and freely, and also preserved: And by the same reason his Vicar can do it: For the Lord seemeth

not

not to have been discreet (that I may speak with reverence to him) unless he had left behind him one such Vicar, who could do all these things. And in Matthew this his Vicar was Peter: And the same must be said of the successors of Peter, seeing the same absurdity would follow, if after the death of Peter he had left humane nature, created by himself, without the Regiment of One person.]

Do you think this is not plain dealing enough, if men are willing to understand?

I know that there were Emperours and Princes that struggled hard, before they suffered themselves to be thus subjected; And these Emperours had Lawyers, Statesmen and Divines that took their parts; as all the Treatises in Goldastus his three Volumes de Monarch. and his Imp. Constit. shew. But still those that sided with the Pope spake contrary, as the argumentations of those Books besides the Authors whom they oppose, do shew. And, alas, Occham, and Marsilius Patavinus, and Widdrington and Barclay came all too late. For all that Secular Power which was cloaked with the name of Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, was before so deeply rooted in the Papacy, that they durst plead for no more, than that Princes are not subject to the Pope in Temporals: But as you truly note, abundance of Temporals, and of the Magistrates proper work about things Ecclesiastical, was still veiled under the name of Spiritual: And at last, even the Temporal Power again claimed more subtilly, and indirectly, as in ordine ad spiritualia.

But you'll say, that All men are naturally so regardless of their own Interest, and especially Princes, that it is not possible they should be so servile, tame and self-abasing, as to give

See Bellarm. de Pontif. Ro. li. 5. c. 1. & 6. & 7. & 8. he saith, It is the common judgement of all Catholick Divines, that the Pope *ratione spiritualis* hath at least indirectly a certain Power, and that the highest in Temporals. Which c. 6. he saith, is just such over Princes, as the soul hath over the body; or sensitive appetites; and that thus he may change Kingdoms, and take them from one, and give to another, as the chief Spiritual Prince, if it be but necessary to the safety of souls. Yea, he saith, that it is not lawful for Christians to tolerate an Infidel or Heretical King, if he endeavour to draw his Subjects to his Heresie or unbelief. But to judge whether a King do draw to Heresie or not, belongeth to the Pope, to whom the care of Religion is committed. Therefore it belongeth to the Pope to judge a King to be deposed, &c.

away so great a part of their Kingdoms to a Forreigner, yea, to one that claimeth all, ( by himself, or by his most famous Writers ) and by his Councils claimeth a power to depose them ; They that with their own Nobles and other Subjects, are so jealous of their Prerogatives, would never so far depose themselves, if they did but know what they do : And therefore when Popish Princes understand the matter, they will shake off the yoke, and reassume their right.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. It's true, that Protestant Princes and States have done so ; And the true meaning of our Oath of Supremacy is the same with your main design : And though some have stumbled at those words, that the King is *Supream Governour in all Causes Ecclesiastical*, the meaning is only ( as hath been oft publicly declared ) that he is the *Supream Civil or Coactive Governour by the Sword, in all Causes Ecclesiastical*, so far as they fall under that Coactive or Coercive Government. And hereby the King doth but reassume the Royal Power over the Clergy and the affairs of Religion, which the Pope had usurped under the name of *Ecclesiastical*. For its well known what was called *Ecclesiastical Power in England* in the times of Popery: so that this much of the Vail is removed long ago among all Protestants. And if you peruse but Bishop *Bilsons* excellent Tract of *Christian Subjection*, and Bishop *Andrews* his *Tortura Toris* ( to pass by all others ) you will see that this Case is better opened, than I for my part am able to open it. And it is seldom heard of ( for all the industry and subtilty of Rome ) that any Prince or State doth Voluntarily turn Papist, that is once delivered from the Yoke, and that ever again parteth with his power when he hath recovered it.

But yet that even this Argument from *Notorious Interest*, doth not recover the Liberty of Countreys subject to the Pope, you will the less wonder ; if you consider these three things.

1. That the Papal Interest hath got such rooting in their Subjects minds, that it is not in their power to reassume their right. The Clergy are so numerous, subtle, ubiquitary and potent, and the people so commonly deceived, and so tenacious of ancient Customs, that to make this Change,

Change, might cast all into a flame: And they think it better to lose part, than all. And no doubt but the examples of *Henry the third*, and *Henry the fourth of France*, made some think, that if they displease the Pope and his Confederates, they have not sufficient security for their lives.

2. And Princes stand usually on such terms of danger or jealousy from one another, that they are fain to keep such a Peace at home, lest they expose themselves to a greater mischief from abroad. And they are broken by the Papal subtilty, especially in *Germany* and *Italy*, into such Fractions, and petty Principalities, that few of them are strong enough to defend themselves against the Confederates of the Pope (when potent Emperours heretofore could not do it.) And many of them, especially the House of *Austria*, do take this Copartnership of the Pope, to be a great part of their strength: And as anciently many Emperours were forced to choose their *Cesars* and Copartners, when the defence of the Empire was too hard for themselves alone; so divers Princes are glad to make use of the Papal interest and power for their own security; though upon terms that else would never be submitted to.

And in some Countreys the Rebellious disposition of the Subjects driveth them to accept of this dear remedy; and they choose rather to strengthen themselves by a Copartner, than to stoop to the wills of their inferiours.

For here you must take notice, that the pretence of a *Jus divinum* and of *Spirituality*, and the Interest of *Christ*, and of the safety of their souls, doth make this kind of servitude much less dishonourable, than it is to be overtopped by a neighbour Prince, or to be curbed by their subjects. For what dishonour is it for a man to be subject to his Maker and Redeemer? Nay, what greater honour can there be? And the *Roman* Clergy have used themselves to Canonize those Princes that have been most zealous for their Grandure, and to raise the fame and praises of such, as have raised that which they call the Church, that the very ambition of the Clergies Praises, doth do much to tempt some to a tame acceptance of a Copartner, who pretendeth to be the Vicar of *Christ*: When this servitude goeth for

city, and carictivly not with it the reproach of other sorts of servitude.

3. And it greatly furthereth their success, that the Popes Agents are commonly bred up in Learning, and so are made able to over-wit the Laity; And that it is their great design, to gratifie the Lusts of Princes, by indulging their voluptuous sensual lives, that so they may spend their dayes in such things, as will never advance their understandings to an ability to discern the cheats of their Copartners: And they detestably cherish the Ignorance of the Common Laity, that they may be the fitter to be led and mastered by them; even as men keep women from Learning, and great attainments, lest they should be the more incapable of subjection. And thus as Satan leadeth men to Hell, so the Papal Usurper bringeth the Laity into their power, by their *own consent*, by such *pleasing baits*; as make their servitude easie to them. And it is not your telling them of their interest, that will prevail against all these temptations. They that will lose Heaven, and their salvation by such cheats, may lose half of their earthly Dominions by them, as long as the other half sufficeth to satisfy their concupiscence, and to maintain their honour and pleasure in the world.

The *Roman Usurpation* consisteth of two parts. 1. The Usurpation of such a *Pastoral Power* as they have no right to. 2. The Usurpation of a great part of the Magistrates power, sometime *directly*, and sometimes indirectly in *ordine ad spiritualia*; and constantly by the cheat of the false name of Church power, put upon the Magistrates part of Church Government, as if it were the Clergies part.

I. The Usurpation of a Pastoral power which belongeth not to them, is the chief part of their Iniquity. And it consisteth in these, among other particulars.

1. In the impious, and arrogant claim of an Universal Pastorship over all the world. The *Roman* Prelate must be the Teacher of all the world, the High Priest of all the world, and the Spiritual Ruler of all the world; which because he cannot do by himself, he must do by others, as far as he can to uphold his usurpation. He must be the Law-giver

giver and the Judge of all the world, even at the Antipodes, and where he hath no acquaintance nor access.

2. By this he undertaketh to be a Bishop in other mens Diocesses, and to rule in all matters, where he hath no more power, than any Pastor hath in another Pastoral Charge.

3. And by this he undertaketh to be the Spiritual Father and Governour of all the Kings and Rulers of the Christian world, and so to have the power of excommunicating them when he thinketh there is cause, and to brand them as incapable of Christian communion with their own Subjects; or with any other Christians.

4. By this he usurpeth authority of imposing what Pastors he please ( even such as will carry on his interest ) upon all the Churches in the world, and depriving both Printers and people of their just liberty of choice.

5. By this also he usurpeth the power of deposing what Bishops or Pastors he please, and depriving the people of their necessary helps, and faithfullest Teachers. Yea, of putting whole Nations under Interdicts of serving and honouring God in Church-assemblies; commanding all Pastors to shut up the Church doors, and forbidding them to perform their office, and to preach Christs Gospel, or administer his holy Sacraments.

6. By this he sendeth forth his Missionaries, and setteth up Societies of Jesuits and Fryers to do his work, and commandeth all Printers and people to receive and countenance them.

7. By this he layeth claim to a right of maintenance for Himself and his Missionaries in all parts of the world, in the name of Christ, who hath said, that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

8. By this he granteth Dispensations, Pardons, Indulgences, commandeth praying to Saints and Angels, and praying for the Dead, as being in Purgatory, and by this he setteth up his whole new name of self-devised worship and Religion. Now I call not all this an Usurpation of Magistracy, so far as it hath no Corporal force, and threatneth no penalty but excommunication and damnation.

tion. For every true Pastor with his own flock hath the Power of Guiding them by delivering Christs Doctrine and Precepts, and commanding obedience as his Servant or Embassadour in his Name; and of denouncing his judgments, and of judging obligingly who are fit to be taken in to the Church by Baptism, and who to be cast out as Impenitent by excommunication in his own particular Charge or Society. And if the Pope usurp a power of doing all this and more, as an Universal Pastor only, this is an Usurpation of a Church Power, and not of a Magistracy. And indeed if you will acquit him from the guilt of the Myserie of Iniquity any further than he invadeth Magistracy it self, you will do him a great deal of wrong: For he is the *Vicarius Christi*, and the *Vice-Christ* more notably by his *Spiritual Usurpation* of a power proper to *Christ himself*, or at least of a power that Christ never gave him.

II. His setting up a KINGDOM, and invading the MAGISTRACY is done I. Directly, II. Indirectly and Consequentially.

I. Directly; 1. By holding a Secular Jurisdiction, as the King of Rome, where he exerciseth the Supream Civil Power, acknowledging no Superiour Civil Governour; either as to the Legislation or Execution, in all the parts of his own Dominions.

2. By his laying claim to many Kingdoms as his own ( among which *England* is one, as pretended to be delivered to him by King *John* ) and supposing that the Kings do hold them as under him, and by his Grant.

3. By laying claim to the Temporal or Corporal Government of all the world ( say some ) or of all the Christian world ( say others ): Of which you may see a multitude of Volumes written in the defence of his pretensions: In particular all those aforesaid were of this subject, which all *Goldastus* his Collected Treatises, for the Right of Princes do confute. I gave you Cardinal *Bertrands* words before.

And though some of their Clergy who live under Princes that are not willing to resign their Crowns, do disclaim the

the *Popes direct Title* to the Universal Civil Sovereignty; yet he himself disclaimeth it not; nor condemneth the Books as such, that have been written to defend it.

In the *Jesuits Morals* the last Chapter hath this Title [ *That the Jesuits teach, that the Church cannot command spiritual and internal actions; That its Laws and guidance are humane, and that it is itself only a Political Body* ] Where the *Jansenist* chargeth them with destroying the Church from its foundation; and making it altogether external, humane and Politick; and that which needeth only Politick Virtues for its Government, and the exercise of its principal offices, and that they make its Laws but humane and politick, which oblige only to things external: and chargeth them as *Cyprian* did the *Novatians*, *Quod Ecclesiam humanum facium* ] So that if he accuse them justly, here is no room for any *subterfuge*: It is not the Spiritual and Temporal power that he makes them claim, but the Temporal or External only: But what! doth the *Jansenist* himself therefore disclaim all Temporal Power in the Church, or is he just to Kings? Judge but by *pag. 388* where he boasteth of *Laymans* Confession of the Truth, that [ *Ecclesiastick power is instituted immediately from God, and the Civil power comes immediately from men: And that Civil power regards properly and directly wealth and peace temporal only:* ] And he adds [ *For the Civil power regards the outward order and Civil tranquility alone; and prescribes none but outward and humane means to attain this end.* ] Which is all false, and most injurious to Kings; whom this moderate *Jansenist* would hereby set as far below every Priest; in real dignity and amiableness to the Subjects as a Humane Creature is below a Divine; and the interest of the body is below that of the soul. Whereas indeed God is the immediate Original of Civil and Church power, though in both the *Persons* are designed by the means of men. And both have God himself for their ultimate end, and the Common Good of the Society for their Common End; which ever consisteth most in spiritual felicity, referring to Eternal. Though the Magistrates weapon be the Sword, and the Pastors only the Word, by which all this is brought to pass.

Indeed

Indeed it is not possible that the Papacy in its present State can be defended by any man how moderate soever, without Injury to Princes and States, whose Power the Pope hath so notoriously invaded and usurped: For how can they defend him, that usurpeth the Power of Kings, or usurpeth a false Power over Kings, and not be injurious to them that the Usurper injureth?

But it is most wonderful to me, that when *W. Barclay* defendeth the right of Monarchs in such a Kingdom as *France* that hath power and will to hold fast its own, he should complain as if he undertook a Cause which most were against him in, and in which he expected to be wondered at for his singularity.

4. By their Inquisition, and by their Decreeing Corporal Penalties in their Councils, and Decreeing the deposition of Princes, and the giving away their Dominions to others, as in the two fore-cited Councils; *Roman. sub. Greg. 7. & Lateran. sub. Innoc. 3.* In a word, by all that they do in their Usurped Legislation, Judgement and Execution, by the Sword, or a forcing Power as in themselves.

II. But the more successful Usurpation of the Power and Rights of Princes is *Indirectly*, and as *Bellarmin* defendeth it, in *ordine ad spiritualia*; By using their Ecclesiastical Usurped power upon mens Consciences, in such a way as shall overtop the Magistrates power of the Sword: when they decree that all are Hereticks that believe their senses, and deny Transubstantiation, and that all such Hereticks shall be banished or burnt; the Clergy is not to do this themselves, but to deliver them over to the Secular Power: The Pope and Clergy do but charge it on their Consciences in the name of Christ. And if Princes obey them not, or Temporal Lords will not burn or banish all such Hereticks for believing sense, the Pope is not to touch their bodies, but to excommunicate them. And if they will not yet obey the Pope, when they are excommunicate, the Pope, Good man, will not draw a Sword against them, but only use the *Spiritual Sword*, by giving their Dominions to others; which is but by word of mouth; he doth but declare such a Temporal Lord to be dispossess of his Title, and require another

another to take his Lands, and let his great Divines publish that an Excommunicate King is no King, and that to kill him, is not to kill a King: And if Princes will defend themselves by Arms, the Pope will not send his Clergy in Arms against them, but only by the Spiritual Sword, or Word, command other Princes, States and people to arm themselves against their Emperours, Kings and Governours, and to defend those to whom he hath given their Dominions. How oft these Games have been seriously acted, the *German Histories* lamentably tell us: and *Gucciardines Italian*, and the *English, French* and others are not wholly silent.

So if the Clergy be exempt from paying Taxes, from Secular Judgements, if their Lands and Estates be not under the Power of Kings, if they set up Courts of Judicature with Offices like a Civil Court, if they assume to themselves the sole judgement of Hereticks, and Schismatics, and Apostates, and also of Testaments of the dead, and of Causes of Adultery and Fornication, of lawful or unlawful degrees of Marriage, and of Divorce, if the Pope lay Taxes on the Clergy that are Subjects in all Princes Dominions, if he dispose of Buildings, Tythes, Glebes, Monasteries, Lands, Almshouses, Colledges, and abundance such like; all this is not by the *Sword*, but by perswading Kings and States that they are bound in Conscience to promote all this, and obey the Pope as their Ghostly Father herein: And that if they be stricken with the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, they are in a state of damnation, and if they so dye, are undone for ever: And by perswading other Princes and people, that the Arms taken up against such Princes at the Popes Command ( according to the fore-said Councils ) are meritorious, and shall procure their salvation.

And if Princes and people will believe all this, and will be deceived, and will voluntarily subject themselves to such an Usurper, who can help it? Though it excuse not the Pope, yet they have little reason to complain, that they lose that power which they voluntarily give away, and that the Pope shall exercise that power which they

give him. And so much to your Cause against the Papacy.

II. But in your Epistle to Mr. *Areskin* and several others; you lay much of the like charge upon the Reformed Churches, and you take our great Reforming Divines, to have kept up the Mytherie of Iniquity in their Discipline. Concerning which give me leave to deal freely with you, and to tell you, that I am perswaded that your meaning is sincere and good, and that it is an *usurpation* or devised *imitation* of Secular Government by the Clergy which you condemn; and that too great a part of the Protestant Clergy have given you some occasion for these complaints: But that really you deal *not accurately* in the Controversie, and *Accuratenss* is the thing you want. You do not here *exactly* describe the *true difference* between the several powers where you *seem* to describe them; you leave out much that should be said. It is a more distinct way of handling this point, that must decide the Controversie. To which end I have laid you down an hundred Propositions, on occasion of your former Writings sent me.

And as you say in *Epist. ad D. Russellum*, p. 248. that in this you would believe one Physician, one *Coxe*, *Goddard*; *Lower*, *Ridgley*, &c. ( Though I have reason to think that the first and last of these are more of my mind about Church Government than of yours ) before a thousand *Augustines*, *Hieroms*, *Gregories*, yea, *Jewells*, *Davenant*, *Uffers*, *Dallees*; so my opinion is, that usually all men are *wisest* in their own Profession. And though I am naturally somewhat unapt to take more than needs I must upon trust from any ( since I have had great experience of humane ignorance and vanity ) yet I had rather take a Physicians judgement in Physick, and a Lawyers in points of Law, and a Souldiers in Military matters, and a Divines in Theology, than any of their judgements about the matters of an aliene Profession. Not but that now and then a man may arise, that shall know more on the by, than others that make it the study of their lives: But that is not usual. And *that one man* would have been yet *wiser*, in those things if he had been of that Profession.

For surely *ceteris paribus*, he that bestoweth twenty years, or thirty, or forty, or threescore in the Study of Divinity alone, with its subservient helps, is liker to understand it, than he that alloweth it, but now and then a spare hour, in the midst of other diverting Studies. For my part, if I follow not one thing only when I am upon it, but divide my thoughts among things heterogenceal, I cannot pierce deep into any great difficulties, nor make any thing of distracted Studies; *neque quicquam recte fit, quod fit preoccupato animo*. God doth not use to give wisdom now by the way of Miracles; but *they that seek most, are likeliest to find*. And therefore pardon me for telling you, that though I am deservedly a great honourer of the Physicians you name, yet I set more by the Judgement of one *Usher*, one *Davenant*, one *Jewell*, one *Dallens*, one *Blondel*, one *Camero*, one *Le Blank*, one *Petrus Molinaus* in matters of Theology, than of abundance of Lawyers and Physicians. And of one Lawyer and Physician in matters of their Profession, than of many Divines. Being still of *Pembles* mind, that one clear eye can see further than a Council of purblind ones.

And as to the matter of *Partiality* of which you suspect Divines, it is not without cause as to all *that party* who seek for *Riches, Ease and Honours, or Domination and Preferments and Prebeminency in the world*: But such as that *St. Martin* whom you mention out of *Severus*, who so vehemently opposed the *Libecian* Violence,\* and *Maximus* his using the Sword against the *Priscillianists* are as impartial as you. Cer-

\* You are mistaken when you twice call Maximus Emperor Ethnicus, who but for his usurpation, had been a Christian Saint.

certainly if Christianity be what we all profess to take it for, it will make that man *best* who is most a Christian: And he that is *best* will be most impartially and self-denyingly faithful to Christ, and will prefer Christs honour incomparably before his own. And he is like to be most a Christian, who doth sincerely give up himself to the closest study of it all his dayes. Deny this, and your suspicions will fall upon Christianity it self.

But yet I will allow you to be moderately suspicious

where you see that there is any great bait of carnal interest to tempt men : A *Papal* Dignity, a *Cardinalship*, ( I must name no more ) may make the *Roman* Heathen say, I will turn Christian, if you will make me Bishop of *Rome*, &c. But will you suspect that a good man, yea, and all such good men, should be *Partial* where they put themselves on the greatest *self-denial* ? Where they have no profit, no preferment, no man-pleasing, no worldly honour to invite them ? Yea, where it is like to diminish their gain, to hinder them from preferment, to make them hated by most on whom their discipline is exercised ? If a few out of a pang of Faction or Phanatick zeal, may cast themselves on such a self-denying life, it is not like that this will be the ordinary Case, of Learned, sober, godly men. If it be, with whom shall the ignorant trust the conduct of their souls, that will not make merchandize of them ? Would you be partial and false to the Truth of Christ *your self*, if you were the Pastor of a Church ? Is the Office so malignant to infect all that undertake it ? If it be, how can our Religion be good ? If not, why should you think that others will not be as just and impartial as you would be ? Do you consider what excellent persons in all respects for Wisdom, and Piety, and Integrity, were *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Holzer*, *Sobnius*, *Kimedorius*, *Olevian*, *Ursinus*, *Zanchius*, *Parus*, and those English men you named, and many hundreds more ; who more unlikely through Ignorance or partiality to betray the truth ?

But they say, that *Interest will not lye*. Do you not know that an able Preacher, may better by many degrees consult his own *Ease*, his *Profit*, and his *worldly honours* by *Preaching* only, than by this troublesome ungrateful work of Discipline ? I am confident that you and I do take one another for true plain dealing honest men, and therefore can believe each other. And if you will believe me, I did, in my Pastoral Charge ( in those times when I was thought tolerable in the Sacred Office ) for about ten years ( of the twenty that I had leave to preach ) exercise some Discipline upon some particular offenders, according to the common judgement of Protestant Divines ; And it

was

was so much to my labour, to my expence of time, to the grievous displeasure of those that felt under it, and required so much self-denial, that when I consulted with flesh and blood, if I might but have forborn it, and only preached, and given the Sacraments to all that came, I should have thought my self so greatly disburdened, as would have made my life to be sensually pleasant: so that, though I had not any maintenance of my own, I think I could gladly have given up all that I received for my Ministry, and made what other shift I could for food and rayment, so I might but have been freed from the trouble of this particular Discipline: I speak only what it was to flesh and blood, and not what it was to faith, which faith God cannot be served too dearly. Till I speak this to one that hath tryed the thing I talk of, I shall take it for granted, that my words are not half understood.

If you say, Why then did you not forbear a work so ungrateful? I now only answer, Why doth not the Judge and Sheriff forbear hanging Murderers and Thieves: The rest of my Answer you shall have anon.

Though my following Propositions seem full enough in opening the difference between the two Powers; yet I will here also briefly tell you, 1. *Somewhat of the nature of Church Power*: 2. *Somewhat of the certain Truth that Jesus Christ did institute it*: 3. *Somewhat of the Necessity of it sub ratione modii ad finem.*

1. For the first, take these few things together, and you may clearly see what power we claim.

1. Our Office for the *Original* of it, is as immediately from Christ as that of Magistrates, and is not made by Kings or any Monarchs. Therefore we hold it as immediately from Christ.

2. For the Matter of it, it is only to expound and apply the Word of God, both commonly in Sermons, and particularly to each mans several Case, as Physicians look to the Case of individuals: And also to exercise the Keys of the Church or Kingdom of Christ; that is, 1. To be the ordinary Judges who is to be taken in by Baptism; 2. And also who is to be publicly admonished as scandalous,

alous, in our particular Charge: 3. And also who is to be absolved as penitent: 4. And who is to be declared unworthy for Church-communion, as obstinately impenitent, and to be forbidden Communion with the Church, and the Church with him, and consequently denyed the privileges of the Church, and signs of Communion in the Lords Supper, which it belongeth to the Pastor to deliver only to the capable, and by the peoples familiarity and brotherly Society, which they are obliged to deny them. And this Sentence of the Pastor, if it should proceed on mistake, doth not make the mans Case the worse before God: but yet (till the Church have sought its due remedy against mistaking Pastors) it remaineth so far valid, as that none against it may obtrude himself on the Communion of that Church. For, I pray you tell me, if *Plato*, or *Zeno* mistake in their judgement of a Disciple whom they refuse, or any Free Schoolmaster in judging of the incapacity of a Scholar, shall others so misjudged intrude into their Schools, and make themselves their Scholars against their wills? Or shall he whom by mis-information you refuse or reject from your family or service, become your household servant in despite of you?

3. And as to the Instruments and manner of exercising our Office, we professedly disclaim all pretensions to any power of the Sword, or of corporal penalty, that is co-active or coercive. You confess this once your self. We claim no power but by the *Word*, either generally preached, or particularly applied to the case of those that are of our charge. No other power of *Excommunication* do we claim: If men will despise our Ministerial instructions, reproofs and censures, we have done with them. Shall they force themselves into our familiarity or communion in spite of us? Your *Epist.* 54. *ad Messagerium* openeth the matter so fairly, that we little differ from it. If you say that Presbyterians and Episcopal set up Courts, Judicatories, with Officers like Civil Courts: I answer, 1. The more pomp and likeness to the Magistrates coercive way, the worse I like it. 2. But how shall men be heard, if they be not cited? How shall such things be Justly and Regularly,

larly transacted, if there be not a known Time and Place, and if Accusers and Witnesses be not summoned? Are not such regular proceedings necessary even in Cases of meer arbitration? If this be all, here is no more Sword, no more force, than in a Pulpit. And how doth Excommunication (that is, declaring an Impenitent person unfit for Church Communion by Christs Laws, and binding him over to the great day) I say how doth this touch mens bodies or estates, or work any otherwise than a Pulpit-Sermon on the conscientious Volunteers? 3. And if hording, or Writs de *Excommunicato Capiendo*, or imprisonment, or burning men as Hereticks follow this, all this is the Magistrates own doing? If it be *well*, praise him for it. If it be ill, blame him for it. If Rulers *will* make such Laws, and if they *will* so far be Executioners of the Clergies Decrees, who can hinder them? If it be against *their* right, it is their *own* *ail*, who give so much of their right away. If you say, that Clergy men are too blame that urge them to it; you shall not easily think worse of their so doing, than I do: It is greatly against our wills that the Sword so closely followeth Excommunication. I think it is the effect of Carnal Clergy mens base conceit of their own Sacred Office, as if it were a Leaden unpowerful Sword which Christ hath put into their hands, and Excommunication were invalid, when the Sword forceth not the impenitent to dissemble Repentance and Submission. When great worldly baits have enticed worldly men into the Sacred Office, as to a worldly preferment and Trade, they will judge accordingly and manage it like themselves (which is and hath been the Churches Pest) We would beg on our knees of Kings and Magistrates, if it would prevail, to leave Church Censures to our Lords intended use; and *valent quantum valere possunt*; and to keep their Sword out of Church-mens hands, and to punish men in their own Courts for every crime that deserveth it; but not *quatenus excommunicate*, or meerly because the Clergy hath judged them unmeet for Church Communion. He that taketh Excommunication alone for no punishment, is not fit to be in the Communion of the Church, and therefore

therefore should not be driven for fear of a Prison to that which he hath no right to. So that you must not charge the acts of Princes, nor of ambitious Cardinals, &c. neither on *Calvin*, *Breza*, or any such as them.

And as to *Lay-Elders*, or *Lay-Chancellors*, I am no more for them than you are; that is, as the Magistrates Officers, or as the Churches Sub-Officers *circa sacra & non in sacris*: But sure those of them who are introduced on a mistaken conceit of *Divine right*, and do no more than the Pastors do, are no Usurpers of *Coercive power*.

You see by the late Acts of King and Parliament in Scotland, that all *External Church power* is declared to be in the King: And what would you have more? No doubt the meaning is not, *All power about external things*: For the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper, and the persons baptized, &c. are external objects: Nor can it be all power that is exercised by the external parts of the body. For the Tongue of the Preacher, and the Hand of the Baptizer, as well as the Ear of the Hearer is an *external part*. But in these two senses it is true, and commonly consented to, by all that I remember of my acquaintance that are Christians. 1. That all the power of the *Sword*, or of forcing by Mulcts or bodily punishments, as distinct from the power of the Word, that worketh directly upon the soul alone (by the senses) is in the King, and not in any of the Clergy, though it be about the matters of Religion. 2. And that all power in Church matters and Religion, *Extrinsicall to the Pastoral Office* as instituted by Christ, is of right the Kings, and his inferiour Magistrates. And what would you or any man have more?

4. And as to the exercise of our Office, we all confess (except the Papists) that we are responsible to the King and Magistrates, for our faults, yea, for our injurious administration. And that though the King be not the Chief Pastor, nor hath the power of the Keys which Christ gave to his Ministers, yet he is the Ruler of all Churches and Pastors by the Sword, as well as of all Physicians. And is not all this enough to satisfy you, that we claim no part of the Magistrates Office?

As you say, our power is but *Persuasive*. It is but, *By the Word*; It is but on the *Conscience*; It is under the Magistrates coercive Government: And so it is like a Physicians or a Tutors in a Colledge. But that I pray you leave not out 1. That it is not under the Magistrates, as to the *derivation of the office or power*, that is, *It is no office which the Magistrate made or may unmake*: 2. That it is as immediately of Divine Institution as the Magistrates. And therefore in your similitude you must suppose your Physician and Tutor to have a Commission from God. 3. That God hath *described our office, and limited the Magistrates office*, so that he hath no power from God to *binder the Ministry*. 4. But if he do it injuriously we must not resist, but patiently suffer for obeying God. So much of the nature of the office.

II. Now that it is certain that God hath committed to Pastors, such a Government of his Church by the Word, as to stated commissioned Officers, because I have past by the proofs in my following Propositions, I will add some here: Supposing what Dr. Hammond hath said of the Power of the Keyes, and that no man with common sense can take the Power of the Keyes, for any thing less than a power of Church Government, or Authoritative Guidance, and so a Power of receiving in and putting out as there is cause; It is plain in that Christ first reciteth his own Commission and Power, *Matth. 28. 18, 19, 20.* and thence dateth the Commission of his Apostles, as it was to endure to the end of the age or world.

See *Isa. 22. 22.* & *Rev. 3. 7.* & *1. 18.* compared with *Matth. 16. 19.* & *John 20. 23.* The word *Presbyter* and Bishop can signifie no less: as *Acts 4. 8, &c.* compared with *Acts 14. 23. & 15. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. & 16. 4. & 20. 17, 28. Titus 1. 5. James 5. 14. 1 Pet. 5. 1. Rev. 4. 4, &c.*

And nothing less can be meant by *1 Tim. 5. 17. The Elders that Rule well are worthy of double honour, &c.* *Heb. 13. 17. 24. Obey them that have the Rule over you, for they watch, &c.* *1 Theff. 5. 12, 13. Know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, 1 Tim. 3. 1, 4, 5. If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth*

~~a good work~~ — One that Rules well his own house, having his children in subjection. — For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God. So Tit. 1. 7, &c. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. Many other I pass by.

And for the act of excommunication, or excluding unmeet persons from *Christian Church Communion*, it would be tedious to stand to vindicate all those plain Texts from any mens exceptions; 1 Cor. 5. *per totum*. Titus 3. 10. 2 John 10, 11. 2 Thess. 3. 6, 14. Rev. 2. 14, 15, 20.

But while I am writing this, I remember that I have long ago written a small Book called *Universal Concord*, in which I have described all the *Pastoral Office and Work*: If you can prove it less than I have there named in any one point, you will so far ease us, and take nothing from us at all that gratifieth our flesh: If you can deny none of that, we are agreed. And in the Preface to the same Book I have given you twelve Reasons of the great use of Church Discipline; which shall save me the labour of the third point which I intended next to speak to; save only that I will briefly ask you,

III. Would you have any difference made between the Christian Church and the Pagan and Infidel world? If not — If you would, it must be such a difference as Christ hath appointed us to make? And doth our Baptismal Covenant contain no promise and profession of godliness and obedience, as well as of Belief; and so of Repentance and a better life?

2. Who would you have to be Judge in this matter? Shall every one be Judge himself? Then all Pagans, Murderers, Blasphemers may come in and turn Religion and the Church into a scorn. If any must judge, you would not sure set the *Magistrates* or people such a task (on pain of damnation) to leave their Calling, to try and judge of the qualifications of expectants or Church-members.

3. Whom do you think *Christ* committed this business to? Who were the Judges of the Capacity of persons to be baptized, or the desert of persons to be rejected? *Diotrophes* could not have rejected Christians injuriously, if he had not

not then had some Governing power.


4. Hath not all Christs Church exercised such a Discipline as I have described since the Apostles days till now ? ( saving the corruption of it by ill additions, or carnal neglects ) And hath all this Church been from the beginning under a false Government in the main ? Or is not Reformation a righter way than *extirpation*, of Discipline as well as of *Doctrine and Worship* ?

5. Is it not *the wickedness* of *Christians* that is the chief hardening of *Turky* and other Infidels against Christianity ? And would they not encrease this pollution that would have the most vicious to be equally received with the best ?

6. Is not *Faith* for *Holiness*, and did not Christ come to purifie a peculiar people, and restore us to the Image of God ? And if for want of Discipline Saints and Swine be equally Church-members, and partakers of holy things, is that agreeable to this design of our Redeemer ?

7. If Oeconomical Government and School Government and Colledge Government be no wrong to Kings, neither is the Church Government which Christ hath instituted.

I do not say all this to intimate that you say the contrary. But because your Charge on *Luther*, *Calvin* and other Protestants sheweth that you do sure mistake them : And to tell you that I joyn with you in disowning the KINGDOM and Magistracy of the Mock-Church of *Rome* ; and of all that will imitate them ; But that I take the Enmity so and grosse neglect of true Church-Discipline, to be one of Satans principal services that is done him upon earth, against true Godliness.



## The Churches and the Magistrates

Power stated in matters of Religion ; In  
an hundred Propositions, which al-  
most all sober Protestant Teach-  
ers are agreed in.

A Reconciliation of the sober Episcopal,  
Presbyterians, Independents and Erastians.

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*To my very Learned, sincere and worthy Friend Du-  
dovicus Molinæus Dr. of Physick ( The Author of  
many Treatises on this subject. )*

*Dear Sir,*



UPON the perusal of your Writings which  
you sent me, the love of the Church, and of  
Truth and Peace and you, doth command  
me to tell you as followeth ;

1. That I make no question, but that  
the Pride of the Clergy ( with their Co-  
vetousness ) hath for above twelve hundred years been  
a greater plague to the Churches throughout the Christian  
world, than all the cruelties of the Laity : And that the  
senseless forgetting the *matter and manner* of Christs decision  
of his Apostles Controversie, *Which of them should be the  
greatest*, hath divided the East and West, and corrupted and  
kept down Religion ; whilst that the lives of the Prelates  
have perswaded the observers, that they still took it for a  
more

more important Question, *Which of them should be the greatest ? than, Whether they or their people should be saved.* And it hath ever been a matter of easie remarque, that there have been seldom any dangerous *Schisms* on one side, or any cruel *Persecutions* on the other side, which the Clergy have not been the principal causes of : And that the Laity would be more quiet, if the Clergy did not delude them, or exasperate them ; And that even the more mistaken and violent sort of Magistrates, would have some moderation in their *Persecutions*, if the Clergy did not make them believe, that a burning killing Zeal is the mark of a good Christian, and is the same that in *Tit. 2. 14.* is called a *zeal of good works*, and that to destroy the bodies of men truly fearing God, is the way to save their own souls, or their Dominions at least ; when indeed, the zeal of Christs commanding, is a *zealous Love to one another*, and a *zealous doing good to others*, and the *Devilish zeal* ( as *St. James* distinguisheth it, *James 2. 15, 16, 17.* ) is an envious, hating, hurting zeal.

2. That in all this the Laity are not innocent, but must thank themselves for the evil that befalleth them ; and that on two notable accounts : 1. Because they have ordinarily the choosing of the dignified and beneficed Churchmen, and they have but such as they choose themselves : They think it is their wisdom as well as piety, to make the Honour and Profit so great, as shall be a very strong bait to Pride and Covetousness : And when they have so done, the Proudest and most Covetous will certainly be the Seekers ; and that with as much craft and diligence, as an ambitious mind can use their parts to : And he that seeketh ( by himself and friends ) is likeliest to find : And the more humble and heavenly any one is, and consequently most honest, and fit to be a Pastor of the Church, the further he will be from the Seekers way ! So that except it be where the world hath Rulers so wise and strangely pious, as to seek out the worthy who seek not for themselves, its easie to prognosticate what kind of Pastors the Church will have : And verily they that choose them, are the unfittest to complain of them. Whereas if the Churches maintenance were such,

as might but *prevent the discouragements* of such as seek the Ministry for the *workes sake* and for the *love of souls*, that so Students might not make it a Trade for wealth, but a *self-denying dedication* of themselves to God, the Churches would be accordingly provided; And they that *intend the saving of souls*, would be the Candidates, ( by their own and their Parents dedication ) as now they that *intend a Trade to live and serve the flesh* by ( in an honourable way ) are too great a part of them. Or men might be *further rewarded ex post facto* for their Merits, without being tempted to study principally for that reward. And if we will needs have carnal men, let us not wonder if they live carnally. And if the carnal mind be enmity to God, and neither is nor can be subject to his Law, Rom. 8. 6, 7. we may easily prognosticate how *Christs enemies* will do his work, and guide his Church, and whether their wills and wayes will be such as the conscionable can conform to.

3. And the Laity are unexcusable, because it is they ( in all those Countreys where Popery and Church-tyranny prevaieth ) who put their Sword into the Clergies hands, and give away their own authority, and set up men to vie with them, and to overtop them: of which more anon.

3. I grant you also, that in all such Countreys as afore-said ( where Popery and Church-tyranny prevaieth ) the name of Ecclesiastical Courts and Discipline, is applyed to that mungrel power, which is neither Fish nor Flesh; and that the true Spiritual Power set up by Christ, is corrupted and turned into a secular thing, or by confusion, a third sort arisen out of both. And that Popish Princes are wofully abused by this deceit: while that the reverence of the name of the Church and Church-Government, doth perswade them to ruine the Church indeed, and to set up their Subjects to be the Governours of themselves, and to give away their own power to their servants, and then to stoop to the power which they have given.

4. And I grant you, that all this mischief would much be cured, if Magistrates would keep the Sword to themselves, and use it only according to the judgement of their proper Courts; and would leave the Power of the Church

Keyes to the Pastors, & *valent quantum valere possunt*; and let it be thought penalty enough for an excommunicate person *qua salis* to be excommunicate: And not to take him to be a penitent, or worthy of the Communion of the Church, that had rather be there than in a Gaol. There be wiser wayes of bringing men to Repentance and to the Communion of the Church, than by saying [ Choose this or the Goal: You are worthy to be in the Church, if you had but rather be in it than in a Prison. ] Christ said, [ *For sake all, or ye cannot be my Disciples*; ] And some say, [ Be Christs Disciples, or forsake all: The Church will receive you, if you will but accept her communion rather than imprisonment or beggary. ] A kind Church indeed! of which more anon.

5. But notwithstanding all these concessions, I must further tell you, that it is the Pastors of the Churches that must keep up the interest of Christianity in the world; and that as the bad ones are the greatest plagues, so the good ones are the greatest blessings of the earth; even the salt and lights of the world: And none but the enemies of Christ are their enemies, (as such.) And as the Ministry hath grown better or worse, so hath Christianity either risen or fallen, in all times and places of the Church on earth. ( Of which see Two Sheets which I have written for the Ministry, against the *Seekers* and *Malignants* long ago. )

6. And though the Carnal Clergy afore described, deserve all the invectives in your Books, and their Usurpations, and turning Church Discipline into a secular thing, do call aloud for a just detection and rebuke, and it would be the happiness of the world, if the eyes of all Christian Princes and Rulers, were opened in this point; yet I must tell you, that I believe most sober, pious Protestant Divines are really agreed in the main things that you desire and intend; And that both you and some of your adversaries both do amiss, to make the difference seem wider than indeed it is: And that making *Verbal* differences seem real, and *small* ones seem great, is an ill employment; when a few distinctions and clearer explications, would make both  
fides

sides see, that they are *almost of one mind*.

Therefore all that I shall do in this business is, to lay down my own judgement, and I think the judgement of all the pious and sober part, of the *Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independents and Erastians* ( or *Politicians* ) in certain brief Propositions, which shall carry their own evidence past all contradiction of Learned and Considerate-Christians.

*Prop. 1.* **T**He work of the Gospel-Ministry is not a work of *meer Charity and Liberty*, but an *Office-work*: *Authority, Reason and Love*, are its principles, *Matth. 28. 19, 20. Titus 1. 5. AUs 14. 23.*

2. This Office is *instituted by Christ himself*, and by the Holy Ghost, *Ibid. AUs 20. 28, &c.*

3 It was instituted for *great and necessary ends*, that the Ministry might be *Christs Agents, Messengers, Stewards, &c.* for the furthering the affairs of his Spiritual Kingdom, and mens salvation in the world, *1 Cor. 4. 1, 2. 1 Tim. 3. 1, 2, 3, &c. AUs 20. 28. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13. Heb. 13. 17.*

4. It was first put into the hands of *Apostles* chosen by Christ himself; who were to be the Gatherers, Editors and Guides of his Church, and to be its foundation built on Christ, and the transmitters of the Gospel, and a stated Ministry to the following Ages.

5. Though the *extraordinary* part of their work ceased with them, the *ordinary* part continueth after them, with a Ministry which is to continue to the end of the world *Eph. 4. 11, &c.*

6. This Office was in time *before a Christian Magistrate*, and must be the *same* where there is *any such*, and where there is *none*, *Matth. 28. 20. Eph. 4. 12, 14, 16, &c.*

7. It consisteth in an *Authority* conjunct with an *Obligation* to do their proper work.

8. This Ministerial Office is subordinate to Christ in the three parts of his Office, *Prophetical, Priestly, Kingly* ( as they are commonly distinguished ) or, in *Teaching, Worshipping God, and Governing his flocks*, *John 20. 21. Matth. 28. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4. 1, 2. 1 Tim. 3. 2, 3, &c. & 5. 17. AUs 6. 4.*

9. It

9. It is essential to the Office to have all these in *Divine Authority*, but not in *Exercise*, nor in the *Civil Liberty* of exercising them (which may be hindered) *Acts* 5. 18, &c.

10. The Office is to be judged of by *Gods Institution*, and not by the *Ordainers wills* intention, or contrary expretions; if the *essence* of the Office be delivered in general words.

11. Christ made these Officers the *Key-bearers* of his Churches, that is, the Rulers or Guides, who have authority under him over Church communion, to judge what members shall be taken in, and who shall be put out, *Mat.* 16. 19. *Heb.* 13. 17, 24. *1 Thess.* 5. 12, 13.

12. The first and great act of this Key-bearing power ( never denied them from Christs time to this day ) is the power of *Baptizing* and of *judging who* shall be admitted by Baptism into the Church or number of visible Christians, *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *Acts* 2. 41. & 8. 12, 13, 38.

13. This power is not *arbitrary* but *Ministerial*, regulated by Christs universal Laws; which describeth every mans Title to admittance; which is [ *his own* ( or *Parents* if an Infants ) *understanding, voluntary, serious Profession of Consent to the Baptifmal Covenant.* ] *Acts* 2. 38. & 8. 12. & 10. 47, 48. *Mar.* 16. 16. *Matth.* 28. 20.

14. If one Minister refuse such Consenters, others must admit him: And if many should agree utterly to tyrannize, both Magistrates by just Laws may correct them, and the people desert them, for better Guides: *1 Kings* 2. 27. *2 John* 10, 11. *Mat.* 7. 15. & 16. 6.

15. The Churches *Communion* and *Sacraments* are not to be *common to all the world*. Otherwise the Church were no Church, as consisting of Heathens, Infidels and all, that would come even purposely to pollute and scorn the holy Mysteries, *1 Cor.* 10. 16. *2 Cor.* 6. 14. *Acts* 2. 47, &c.

16. It is necessary therefore that *some men* be the Judges who *are fit*, and who shall be admitted. Else there can be no difference. Of this see my Treatise of Confirmation.

17. Every man is not to be the sole publick Judge for *himself*: For then there would be still no difference, nor the Mysteries kept from common scorns.

18. The *Magistrate* is not made the *first* and *proper* Judge: For then he must make a *Calling* of it, and attend upon this very thing, to try the *baptized* and the *admitted*; which is no small work. For he that judgeth, must first try the Case, and that with the diligence which the weight of it requireth, *Acts* 8. 37.

19. The *People* are not to be the ordinary Judges: for else they must all leave their Callings to attend baptizings, and such works as these; and must do that which most of them are unfit to do: And Christ hath put all out of doubt, by putting the Keys into the Pastors hands, and commanding their study and attending to this work, and calling them the Rulers, Guides, Pastors, Fathers, Stewards, Overseers, &c. and commanding the people to obey them with submission; and telling (not the people or Magistrates) but the Pastors of the great and dreadful account that they must give, *Heb.* 13. 17. *Matth.* 24. 45, 46, 47. *1 Cor.* 4. 1, 2. *2 Tim.* 4. 1, 2. & *1 Tim.* 4. 15, 16.

20. He that will lay this work upon people or Magistrates, is their cruel enemy; and brings on them a most heavy burden, and consequently makes it their duty to *prepare* and *study* for it, and to avoid all *other business* that hindereth it; and would lay them under the terrors of a most tremendous reckoning unto God.

21. Seeing it is a trust that *must* be committed to *some* or *other*, common reason tells us, that it is better in their hands that Christ hath put it in by Office, and who spend their lives in preparation for it, than in theirs that neither have the preparations nor the Office, *1 Cor.* 9. 16. & *2 Cor.* 5. 19, 20. *1 Cor.* 4. 1, 2.

22. It is the great end of Christs coming into the world to destroy the works of the Devil, and to purifie to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works, and to save his people from their sins, and to vindicate the Holiness of God: And the world is so apt to judge of Christs doctrine by his followers, that the Holiness and Concord of Christians is one of Christs great appointed means, for his own and his Fathers glory in the world: That as Gods *greatness* shineth forth in the frame of *nature*, so might his *Holiness* in the *Church*:

*Church* : And the Enemies of *Holiness* are condemned by their *Creed*, when they profess to believe the *Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints*. And *Rome* it self doth own the name and pretence of *Holiness*.

23. Travellers well know, that the great hinderance of the Conversion of Infidels and Heathens, Turks, Persians, Indians, Tartarians, &c. is the wicked lives of the professed Christians that are next them ; when they see that Christians are more false, and cruel, and drunken, and beauly, and divided, &c. than themselves.

24. Those therefore that would have the Church lye common ( without Christs Discipline ) to all the most prophane and wicked that will come in, and have communion with it, are indeed Antichristian, even open enemies to the Church, to holiness, and to the saving of the Infidel and Heathen world , 1 *Cor.* 5. 6, 11, 12, 13. 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Tit.* 2. 14.

25. The Devil hath fought in all Ages as subtilly and diligently against the holy Discipline of Christ, as against the Christian Doctrine.

26. True Discipline doth so wonderfully displease the guilty, and lose mens love, and especially the Richer sort, and all mens carnal interest and nature inclineth them so much to man-pleasing and flattery , that Ministers have abundance more need to be *driven* to the exercise of Discipline, than *restrained* from it ; except it be the corrupt and carnal Discipline which the Popish and tyrannizing Clergy do exercise, where the Magistrate himself upholdeth them in Grandure, and lendeth them his Sword. Let Discipline be but such as Christ appointed, and stand of it self, and then it is but few that will have any more cause, to be restrained from it, than from too much preaching : Though still I yield, that there must be limits for the wilful and the indiscreet, 1 *Cor.* 5. 3 *John* 9.

27. The true Discipline of Christ hath been acknowledged to be his Ordinance , in all the Churches almost in the world, since the Apostles dayes till now ; save that (as you open it ) since *Constantines* time it hath been much corrupted by the mixture of the secular force, and the Em-

perours lending his Church-power to the Bishops and Councils.

28. Government hath two parts : *Antecedent* to *mens* *facts*, which is *Legislation* ; and *Consequent*, which is *Judgement* and *Execution*. Christ is the *only Lawgiver of Universal Laws to the universal Church* ; and the Author of his own Doctrine, and the substantials of his Worship : But yet there are many undetermined circumstances , which may and must be antecedently determined, some by *each Pastor* ; some by a consent of Pastors, and some by *Magistrates* ( if they please ). I will name you twenty lately named elsewhere ; 1. *What day* ( besides the Lords day ) and what hour, the Church shall meet. 2. *How long* the Prayers, Reading and Sermons shall be. 3. When and how often publick Fasts and Thanksgivings be. 4. What place the Church shall meet in. 5. Of the Form, Ornaments, Seats, &c. of the Temples. 6. The place and form of the Pulpit. 7. The *subject* of the present Sermon , and the Chapter to be read. 8. The *Method* of the Sermon. 9. The *Words* of Sermons and Prayers. 10. Of using or not using *Books* and *Sermon Notes* for memory. 11. What *Translation* of Scripture to use. 12. And what *Version* and *Meeter* of the Psalms. 13. And what *Tune* to sing in. 14. What form of *Catechism* to use. 15. Of decent Habits, especially in publick Worship. 16. By what *professing sign* to testify our *consent* to the Churches Confession of faith : Whether by *speaking*, or *lifting up* the hand, or *standing up*. 17. Of decent Gestures in the acts of publick Worship. 18. Of Font, Table, Cups, Cloathes , and other Utensils. 19. Making *new Officers* for these actions *circa sacra* , as Door-keepers, Clerks, Churchwardens, &c. 20. Judging *when any private man shall speak* in the Church, and *when he shall be silent*, and such other Orders necessary to peace and Edification, 1 Cor. 14. 28, 29. 33. 26, 40.

29. Most of these should be left to every Pastors judgement ; some may be determined by the *Magistrate* ; but yet some are fittest for the *Concordant* determination of *Con-sociated Churches*, in a Synod, or by consent. But none of them by any neighbour Pastor ( that like the Pope ) usurp-eth

eth authority over other Churches. Nor should any *standing Laws at all*, be made of such things where there is *no need*; especially where the case is *mutable*, and it belongeth to the Pastors function to determine it, as occasion serveth.  
2 Tim. 2. 15. Mat. 24. 45.

30. Whether these *Antecedent Determinations* of *Concordant Pastors* in a Synod, shall be called *Laws*, or *Canons*, or *Decrees*, is but *in de nomine*: And also whether this power be called *Legislative*, or *Jurisdiction*. And who will trouble the Church unnecessarily about *words and names*? But yet I think they may be best called *Canons* or *Agreements*: And I wish that high Titles be laid aside, lest it encourage the usurping Spirit, that aspireth after too high things.

31. *Grotius de Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* hath said so much and so well of all this Controversie, that it is a shame to us all that we need any more, and a shame to me to trouble the world after him, with Writings on that subject, so far less useful; and to any one, to cloud that which he hath clearly and judiciously stated; were it not that renewed occasions require it.

32. Pastors have not only the charge of right ordering the *Assemblies*, but also of helping and overseeing all the *individuals* of their charge; And to help them in the *personal application* of the Scriptures to themselves, and to resolve their particular Doubts and Cases of Conscience; and to reprove, admonish and comfort the individuals as there is need. As a Physician is not only to read a Physick Lecture to his Hospital, but to Govern each Patient in order to his Cure.

33. Ordination is *ex rei et ordinis gratia* an act of Office, by which the Ministerial Office and Power is Ministerially delivered by way of Investiture and Solemnization, as a house is delivered by a Key, and a parcel of Land by a Turf and Twig, by the hand of a Servant appointed thereunto. Or as our Church state is delivered to us by Baptism by the like investiture. Though yet it is *God directly*, who giveth the Power, and that secondarily by his servant thus *investeth* us in it; though not without the previous Call which is necessary thereunto.

34. Ordination is not an idle Ceremony which the Ordainer must perform upon the judgement of others ( Prince or people ) without his own cognizance of the person, or against his Conscience : But he that must ordain, must first judge the person fit to be ordained ; and therefore must also try his fitness, 1 Tim. 5. 22.

35. So much of the Antecedent power of the Ministry ; in which it is to be noted, that Ordination and Baptism are efficient acts, like Generation in nature, under God the first efficient, as ex Quo omnia, and as they are ordinis gratia, are the beginning of Government also. And Government is an Ordering act, as under God the supreme Governour, ut per Quem omnia. And Sacramental entertainment with Christs body and blood in Church Communion, is Actus Amoris, a final act, of friendship, under God as the final Cause, ad Quem omnia.

36. The subsequent part of the Pastoral Government, is by using the members of the Church in the exercise of the Pastoral Office, according to their several deserts : which is by a General, and particular application of the Word of God to their Consciences, and guiding them in circumstances, and judging of actions and persons according to that Word, in order to the good of souls, and the preservation of the Church and truth, Acts 20. 28. Heb. 13. 17.

37. When the whole Church falleth into notorious sin, the Pastors must reprove them, and call them to repentance : And if they apostatize forsake them, as ceasing to be a Church.

38. When a single member falleth into notorious scandal, the Pastor must admonish him, and call him to repentance : and if he remain impenitent and obstinate after due admonition, and publick exhortation and patience, he must [ as Christs Steward of his Word and Family, pronounce him a person unfit for Church communion, and require or command him in the name of Christ to forbear it, and the Church to forbear his communion, declaring him also unpardoned by Christ till he repent, and binding him over to his judgement. ] So that Excommunication is a Sentence of the person as incapable of Church communion according

according to Christs Laws, and a fore-judging him as unpardoned and condemnable by Christs judgement, unless he repent, and a command to the sinner to forbear the communion and priviledges of the Church, and to the Church to avoid him, 1 Cor. 5. *Titus* 3. 10, &c.

39. If the sinner *repent*, the Pastor is *Christs Officer*, in *his name* to pronounce him pardoned, if his repentance be sincere; and the Guide of the Church to require them to receive him again into their communion, 2 Cor. 2. 7, 10, 11. *Gal.* 6. 1, 2, 3.

40. Because Magistrates and people ( as aforesaid ) cannot attend so great a work as this, without the neglect of their particular Callings, and are not to be supposed so fit as the Pastor, and because God hath made it the work of his Office, the people are to rest in his judgement about the fitness and Title of those that have the publick Church communion with them, ( though they are the Judges and Chooers of their Domestick and private familiars : ) And they must not separate from them that are thus regularly admitted.

41. Yet when the Pastors by mal-administration, give them just cause, the flock may seek their due remedy: of which more anon.

42. This *power* is *essentially* in the *Ministerial Office*; and therefore is in *every single Pastor*, and not only in *some few*, or in the *abler sort*, or only in a *Synod*, *Mat.* 16. 19.

43. When a Church hath but *one Pastor* he must exercise it *alone* ( with due consideration and advice. ) But when a Church hath *many Pastors*, they must exercise it ( and all Church guidance ) in a way of *Concord*, and avoid all dissensions among themselves, *Ephes.* 4. 3, 4, 5. 1 Cor. 1. 10. *John* 17. 21, 22.

44. Therefore in such a case a particular Pastor may be obliged oft to suspend some such acts, because the Major Vote of his Syn-Presbyters are against it; Not that they are his Governours for the Majority of Vote, but because the Laws of Concord require the Minor part to submit to the Major.

45. The same is the reason why in Elections, Consents

and

and other acts belonging to the flock, the Major Vote should carry it in things lawful; not because the people have any true *Church Government*; but because they are obliged to *Unity and Concord*; And in that case, the Law of Nature calleth the Minor part to submit to the Major, lest there never should be any Concord had.

46. And the same is the reason why in Synods and Councils, the Major Vote of the Bishops must prevail, in lawful things not forbidden of God.

47. If any Pastor in the world pragmatically thrust himself into another mans charge, and pretend himself to be the Ruler of his neighbour Churches and Pastors, and attempt to exercise authority over them, he is to be slighted as an Usurper, and a ditturber of the order and peace of the Churches of Christ, 3 *John* 9, 10.

48. Yet every Pastor is an Officer and Minister of Christ ( as to the unconverted world to call them, so ) to the *universal Church* to exercise his Office in it where ever he hath an *orderly call*! And if he teach, or administer *Sacraments* or *Discipline*, upon such a *particular call*, in a neighbour Church *pro tempore*, he doth it as an Officer of Christ ( and *their Pastor pro tempore* ) and not as a *Lay-man*: As a licensed Phylicion medicateth another Phylicion, or another Hospitall, when called to it, not only as a neighbour that is unlicensed; but as a licensed Phylicion. So *Timothy, Apollo, Silas*, and others did.

49. Therefore neighbour Pastors must have so much care of other Churches as to admonish them against the infection of any Heresie or Scandal, which they see them in apparent danger of; whether by heretical wicked Pastors, or others.

50 All neighbour Churches capable of correspondence, are bound to hold a special concord among themselves, for the advantage of the Gospel by their Unity, or for the conversion of the Infidel world, and for the preservation of the several Churches from danger, by Heresie or discord, *Acts* 15. *John* 17. 21, 22. *Eph.* 4. 3, 6.

51. He that is excommunicated justly in one Church should not be received by the rest till he repen: Therefore the neighbour Churches may do well, to acquaint each other

whom

whom they have excommunicated, when there is cause.

52. This correspondence is to be kept by *Messengers, Letters, or Synods.*

53. Whether such Synods be *static*, or *occasional*, and whether the President shall be still the *same* or *changed*, with such other circumstances, are things not determined in Scripture, but left to the determination of humane prudence, as the case shall require, for the end intended.

54. Though the Major part in these Synods, be not the proper Governours of the Minor, yet the Pastors there assembled are still the *Governours* of the *flocks*, and they are also bound to Concord in things lawful among themselves. Therefore their Decrees about such things, are *Obligatory* to the *People* *ratione auctoritatis*, and they are obligatory to one another (I mean the *Pastors*) *ratione concordiae*: And this is the true state of the binding power of Synods.

55. Though the usual phrase of [*binding the Conscience*] be unapt, (Conscience being an act of *science*; and it is not to *know* that by the obligation now in question we are bound to primarily) yet as to the *sense* intended, it is certain, that the Commands of Parents, Magistrates and Pastors, in their proper places, do all truly bind the *soul*, or *will*, or *man*, or as they say, the *Conscience*. But it is only by a *secondary obligation*, from a *derived power*: as God bindeth it by a *primary obligation* by the *primitive power*. He that hath *no power* of *obliging*, hath *no power* of *Governing*. And he that obligeth not the *soul* and *will*, obligeth not the *man* at all, by any *Moral obligation*: The body alone or immediately is bound by Cords and Chains, but not by Commands and Laws: He that may not bind the soul by a Command, hath no commanding authority, *Col. 3. 20, 22. Eph. 6. 1. Tit. 3. 1. Heb. 13. 17, 24. & 11. 8.*

56. Therefore the distinction of *Internal and External Government*, and of the *forum interius & exterius*, needeth better explication, than is used by most; or else it will be worse than useless. The true difference of the Government Civil and Ecclesiastical is to be fetcht, *ab objectis & fine proximo & modo regendi*. But as it meaneth that which

is Intrinsic or Extrinsic to the Pastoral Office, it is of great use: And as it differenceth Government by the Sword, from that which worketh only on the mind.

57. The same God who instituted the Office of the Magistrate, did also immediately institute the Office of the Ministry: And therefore as to the Foundation they are co-ordinate; and neither of them derived from the possessors of the other.

58 As to the Work and End, the Magistrates work and the Ministers have each a preeminency in their own kinds.

59. Magistrates, Ministers and Parents may all command the same thing, and all their Commands be obligatory; As to learn a Catechisme, to observe the Lords Day, &c.

60. It is not lawful for Pastors to Excommunicate either Kings, or their chief Magistrates, or their own Parents (unless perhaps in some rare case) by any publick formal or dishonouring Excommunication. Because the great Command in Nature [ *Honour thy Father and Mother; Honour the King* ] lyeth lower than the positive Command of Excommunication; and is antecedent to it: And as affirmatives bind not *semper & ad semper*, so also they give place to *Natural Laws*, and not *Naturals* (ordinarily) to them. And the Rulers Honour is of more publick use and necessity, than excommunication in that particular act is. But an *Usurping Tyrant*, who may be *deposed*, and *dishonoured*, may be excommunicated.

61. Much less may a strange Pastor, to whom the Magistrate never committed the care of his soul, presume to excommunicate him who is none of his charge: And therefore the Pope and his Prelates excommunicating Kings and Rulers, seemeth to me, to be nothing but a proclaiming open Hostility against them.

62. Pastors have no Power over any but *Consenters*: Nor can they use the Sword, or have any *Coactive* power at all; that is, any power to touch a mans *body* or *estate*: but only to work upon his Conscience, and his Church-reputation. The forcing power belongeth only to Parents, and  
Magi-

Magistrates, and not to Ministers as such at all, *Luke 22. 25, 26, 27. 1 Ptt. 5. 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 Cor. 10. 4.*

63. The similitude of a *Physicians power*, (if you will but suppose him to have a *Hospital of Volunteers*, and his office to be of *Divine institution*) ; or of a Philosophers or Tutors (on the *like supposition*) over adult Disciples, may much explicate the Church power. No wise Phylicion will take any into his Hospital and Cure, upon unsafe destructive terms, which the *Patient* or *Magistrate* shall impose ; but will say, [ It is my function to Rule you, as to *Medicine* for your *Cure* ; Take what I give you, and use your self upon it as I advise you, or else take your course ; you are no Patient for me ; nor shall be in my Hospital : I will not strike you, nor fine and imprison you ; but I will be *none of your Physician*, (or saith the Tutor, I will be none of your Teacher) nor shall you be any part of my Hospital, ( School ) or charge. ] Only still remember here the *Divine institution* of the *Ministry* and *Discipline*, and the regulation of it by Gods Laws, that it be not arbitrarily used.

64. The undoing of the Church of Christ ( in those Countreys where Popery and Church-tyranny prevail ) hath long been by the Magistrates annexing their executions to the sentence of the Church ( as it is called ) and becoming the meer *Executioners* of the judgement of other men. No Magistrate should be debased, so as to be made the Churches Executioner. If the Magistrate will punish a man, it must not be merely *quatenus excommunicate*, that is, as punished already ; but for the *faults* for which he was excommunicate. And if so, then he must *try and judge* him for that fault at his own barr, and not punish him unheard ; because the Church hath sentenced him : And if Rulers would more leave the Church to the exercise of its proper power, and let excommunication do what it can of it self, ( unless the nature of the crime require a distinct Secular judgement and punishment ) it would do much to heal all the divisions and perturbations in the Christian world. For which course I have these Reasons following to urge.

1. It is a great contempt and reproach to Christs institution of discipline, to tell the world, that it is a powerless uneffectual thing of it self, unless the Secular Sword do enforce it. Such Pastors vilifie their own power also, which is so useles.

2. It is a *corrupting of Christs discipline*, and *destroying the use of it*: For it cannot be known now, what the Keyes do of themselves, when the Sword goeth with them: No man knoweth when Repentance professed is credibly real and moved by divine Motives; and when it is dissembled for avoiding of the Secular punishment.

3. It must leave the Pastors conscience unsatisfied in his administrations; and bind him to abuse Christ; when he must say to men, [ If you had but rather say that you repent, than lye in a Gaol, I absolve you, and give you the Sacraments, and pronounce you pardoned by Christ. ] Who can administer on these terms?

4. It is a dangerous deluding of the sinners soul, that seemeth intimated by this way.

5. It is a wilful *corrupting and confounding of the Church*; when men shall be forced to be *its members*, though they be *Infidels, Heathens*, or most impious, if they had but rather say they are Christians than lye in Gaol. And by this means it is, that no man can know, who are really of the *Church of Rome*, or of any tyrannical Church, but only who had rather say they are of the Church, than be undone: which any Infidel and Atheist will soon do. Therefore let not *Rome* boast of the number of her members which are unknown.

6. It is a *changing of Christs terms of Covenant, Christianity, Communion and Absolution*: when Christ saith, [ *He that from his heart believeth and repenteth, and forsaketh the flesh and the world for me, shall be my Disciple and be pardoned; and he that credibly professeth thus much, shall be taken into the Church* ( which are truly Christs terms ) now cometh the Church-tyrant and saith [ *He that will say, that he believeth and repenteth rather than he will forsake the flesh and the world, and will choose the Church before a Gaol, shall be pardoned, and have communion with the Church,*

Church, or at least have the seals of pardon to delude him.

7. By this means the Church is mostly constituted, in such Countreys, of the grossest wicked hypocrites: And it is made a scorn to Infidels and Heathens, and their conversion hindered thereby, when they see that Christians are worse than they.

8. And by this means these hypocrites ruine the Church it self ( as an enemies Souldiers in an Army ): And nominal Christians and Pastors, that are heartily enemies to Christ, do him more wrong, and cause more divisions and ruines in the Church, than they could have done, if they had staid without.

9. It destroyeth most of the hopes of the success of those Pastors, as to the converting and saving of mens souls: Because when the Magistrate is made but *their* executioner, the people take all their sufferings as *from them*: And they will bear that from a *Magistrate*, which they will not bear from a *Minister*, whose Office is to Rule them *by Reason and by Love*: And so such Pastors are usually *feared and hated* by the people, whereby they are disabled to do them that saving good, which can be done on none against his will, 1 Cor. 8. 13. & 9. 22. 1 Tim. 4. 16.

10. And hereby a Church-tyranny is set and kept up in the world, by which persecutions and divisions have been maintained for many hundred years; and the Ministers of Christ have been forbidden to preach his Gospel, to the unspeakable Injury of souls; and the lives of many hundred thousands, have been a Sacrifice, to the Pride, and Avarice, and Cruelty of the Clergy; to the great dishonour of the Christian Name.

11. And hereby Princes have had a power set over them, to the diminution of their proper power, and part of their dominion subjugated to others, under the false name of *Ecclesiastical Authority*; yea, and their own standing made troublesome and unsafe, and multitudes dethroned, and Wars raised against them by the Clergies pretended power, or instigation; of which all the Wars between the

German Emperours and the Papalines are full proof, recorded in all the Histories collected by *Freberus, Ruberus, and Pistorius*, in *Sabbellicus, Nauclerus*, and multitudes of other Historians; and our *English* Histories, by *Ingliphus, Matthew Paris, Hoveden, &c.* And the *Italian* by *Gucciardine* and many others: Nay, what Countrey is there, where the Papal and Tyrannical Clergy have not *overspoiled* or *troubled* the State.

12. And when all this is done, they would deceive the Princes themselves into a *Consent*, and so into the guilt of their own disturbance, and their peoples misery: And cast all the *odium* upon them, and say, we do but deliver you into the hands of the Secular Power, it is they that do the execution on you: when yet a General Council (the Rule of their Religion) *Later. sub Innoc. 3. Cap. 2, 3.* depose such Temporal Lords that will not do such execution.

65. He that *desireth* the Communion of the Church, doth take it for a grievous punishment to be cast out of it. And he that doth not *desire* it, is unfit for it. Therefore he that cannot feel the penalty of an Excommunication alone (but only of a Mulct or Prison) may be fit enough for further punishment, but is unfit for the Communion of the Church.

66. Yet is the Magistrate the Protector of the Church, a Keeper of her Peace and Priviledges and of both Tables; and must use his power to promote Religion.

67. To which end he may prudently by moderate means contrain some that neglect their own salvation to hear Gods Word, and confer with such as can instruct them, and use those means, which God hath made universally necessary, to bring the ignorant to knowledge; and may restrain them from actual open sin, and from scorn and opposition of the means that should convert them, and from hindering others from the means of salvation, and from open seducing them from God, or Christianity, or from a godly, righteous, or sober life: In all this, moderate penalties may be used; and men may be thus far constrained, and restrained: But not constrained to profess that which

which they do not believe, nor to take the priviledges which God forbiddeth them to take. So that there are fitter means left, for the Magistrate to help the Church by.

68. The King and Magistrates have *curam animarum*, though not in the same sense as the Pastors have: They have the charge of Government, not only in order to the corporal ease, and peace and prosperity of their subjects, but also in order to mens holy, sober and righteous living, and to the saving of mens souls. And their *Calling* must be *sanctified*, by doing all in it to these high and holy ends, *Rev. 11. 15. Rom. 13. 3, 4, 5. Isa. 49. 23, &c.*

69. They are Gods subordinate Officers, and have their power from him, and therefore for him, who is the beginning and the end of all, *Rom. 13. 2, 4, 5, 6.*

70. Because their power is from him and for him, they have none against him.

71. Yet have they a power which *we must submit to as from God*, even when it is *used* by accident against him, in some points of his will and interest; so be it that we obey it not in doing any *sin* our selves.

72. They that make Kings and Magistrates to have no charge of Religion, (but only as the Clergies judgement leads them,) but only to preserve mens bodily power; and say that the *Church* hath the care of mens *souls* and Religion, and the King only of the *Body* and our *outward wealth*, do debase the Magistrate as far below the Minister, as the body is below the soul; and teach the people to esteem, love and honour the Minister as much above the Magistrate, as the *soul* and *Heaven* are better than the *flesh* and *earth*: And they make the difference so great, as that the *holier* any of the people are, the more they must prefer their Minister before their King: which is a Popish and most unsufferable debasing of the highest Officers of God.

73. The same points of Religion, the same sin and duties, come under the judgement of the Magistrate and the Pastors; though to several ends. The Magistrate is the Judge of Heresie, and the Pastors are the Judges of Heretie: The Magistrate is the Judge of Murder, Adultery and

Thesft,

Them, and so is the Pastor : That is, the Magistrate is Judge, who is to be corporally punished for Heresy and Murder, and Adultery, &c. And the Pastors are Judges, who is to be excommunicated as Impenitent in such guile, 1 Cor. 5. 3, 4, 5, &c.

74. Yet there are some faults, and some sorts of inquisition into faults, which the Magistrates may prudently restrain the Pastors from meddling with, for the safety of the publick peace : especially when they would indirectly make themselves Judges of mens Titles and Estates ; or in controverted cases, where the Magistrate must first decide, and the Pastors only follow, if the Pastors will be the first deciders, and prevent the Magistrate and assume his work, or otherwise wrong the publick peace, or private right, they are to be restrained.

75. The Magistrate hath all the Coactive Government, over Ministers as well as over any others of his Subjects : And to exempt the Clergy from his subjection without his consent, as traitorous. ( And if he *will* consent, he may thank himself. )

76. Magistrates may ( by moderate penalties ) drive on negligent Pastors to their duty, and restrain them from mischieving the Church, and punish them for notorious pernicious mal-administration : As Solomon deposed *Abiathar*, &c.

77. But they must not on this pretence invade any part of the Pastors Office ; as to ordain, degrade, baptize, excommunicate ecclesiastically, nor impose on the Pastors any of the circumstantial, which it is their own Office to determine of.

78. Pastors must obey the Magistrates in all Lawful things, which belong to his Office to command.

79. Many things are sinfully commanded ( because without necessity or cause, or because to ill ends, or with ill circumstances in the Commandes ) which yet it is the Subjects duty to obey in : Because one Law may be for a Ruler, and another for a Subject, and their duties various.

80. Where it is not lawful to obey, it is yet unlawful for subjects to resist the higher powers, as being the authorized

authorized Officers of God, for our good, *Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6.*

81. Though usually it is very unfit that Pastors be also *Magistrates* ( both because of some dissonancy in their necessary department and work, and because one of the Offices alone is enough for any man faithfully to perform ) Yet if the King make Magistrates of Pastors, as *Magistrates* their coactive power must be obeyed.

82. Magistrates may make Laws for the Church in circumstantialis *circa sacra*, which belong to their proper determination: And also to enforce obedience to the Commands of God, as far as prudence shall justly direct them: of this see *Grotius de Imp. sum. pot.*

83. Magistrates may call Synods and Councils: And the Pastors may also voluntarily assemble, for mutual advice, either in cases of great necessity for the safety of the Church, or in lesser cases, when the Magistrate forbiddeth it not.

84. In a time when Blasphemy, or Heresie, or Sedition prevaiileth, the Magistrate may name certain Blasphemies, Heresies, &c. which he may forbid his Subjects to preach up.

85. And he may restrain all utterly unable persons, or heretical false Teachers, or any that notoriously do more harm than good, from the liberty of preaching in his Dominions, till they are proved fitter; that is, from abusing the Gospel and mens souls.

86. But if on this pretence he should forbid Christs faithful able Ministers, to preach the Christian faith, and call men to repentance, and save mens souls, ( when there are not enow more, especially to do that work, as proportioned to the number and necessity of souls ) it would be a sin so heinous against Christ, and against the souls of men, as I think it not meet now to aggravate or express, *1 Thes. 2. 15, 16.*

87. If faithful Ministers break good Laws, they must be punished as other Subjects, in Purse, or Body, or Name, so as may least hinder them in the work of Christ.

88. They that silence faithful able Pastors, for such faults as may be otherwise punished, do grievously punish the faultless people ( even in their souls ) for the faults of another.

her. As if a man that hath a family of an hundred persons, were forbidden to give them bread to save their lives, because he was drunk, or swore an Oath, which might be punished on himself alone.

89. The Magistrate may *excommunicate in his way*, as well as the *Pastors do in theirs*. That is, the Magistrate may as a penalty for a crime, lay Subjects under a note of infamy, and Outlaw them, and command all men to avoid familiarity with them; ( And this as *bad Subjects*, whether they be Church-members or not. ) And he may as a *Keeper* of the Churches Priviledges and Peace ( till forfeited ) restrain all excommunicate persons from forcing themselves into the Communion of the Church which did excommunicate them.

90. So contentious are Pastors oft times, and so necessary is the Magistrates Office to the publick peace, that every Church should be under the eye of some Justices of the Peace, or Censors appointed by force to silence intruding Bawlers and Railers, and to restrain Ministers from making it their publick work, unpeaceably to traduce and revile their Brethren, and represent dissenters as odious to the flock. And if such Magistrates had kept the Churches *Order and Peace* according to *their Office*, it had prevented abundance of the Papal Usurpations, which were the fruit of Magistrates neglects.

91. *Lay Chancellors* exercising the *Spiritual Power* of the *Keys* ( though they should *pro forma* use the stile of an *Ordinarie pronouncement* ) is such a sort of Church Government, as I will never swear that in my place and Calling I will not at any time endeavour to alter by lawful means.

92. The Parents are put in the fourth Commandment, rather than the Magistrate or Pastor, because their authority is the most plenary Image of the Divine Authority in these respects. 1. Their Authority is not by Contract, but by Nature. 2. It is the primary radical power. 3. It is most universally necessary to mankind. 4. And it representeth Gods Government. 1. In that it is founded in *Generation, as Gods in Creation*. 2. Because thence ariseth 1. The *fullest Image* of his *Dominion*, in the Parents *fullest Propriety* in his Child. 2. Of his *sapiential Rule*, in the Parents *Go-*

vernment ( as in presence ) 3. Of his *Love* which Parents are allowed to exceed all other Rulers in : Therefore God calls himself Our Father.

93. Q. What if the Magistrate, Minister, and Parents have opposite Commands ? Which of them is to be obeyed ? e. g. The Magistrate bids you meet in one place for publick Worship ; the Bishop in another, and the Parent in a third ? The Magistrate bids you Learn one Catechism and no other ; the Bishop another, and not that ; and the Parents a third. The Magistrate bids you stand, the Pastor bids you kneel, the Parents bid you sit. The Magistrate bids you pray by one form, the Bishop by another, and the Parents by a third or none. The Magistrate commandeth one translation of the Scripture, and the Bishop another. The Bishop commandeth you to use a Ceremony, or to keep a holy day, and your Parents forbid it you ? In such cases which must you conform to and obey ? *Answer.* When I am desired, and promised by those concerned in it, that it will be well taken, I will answer such kind of questions as these. But till then I will hold my tongue, that I may hold my peace.

94. No contrary commands of *Church-men* ( as they are called ) ; nor any of our *own Vows* or *Covenants*, can excuse us from obedience to the Higher Powers, in lawful things, which God hath authorized them to command ; that is, which are belonging to their place of Government to regulate. Though if the question be but, e. g. What Medicine and Dose shall be given to a Patient, or by what *Medium* a Philosopher shall demonstrate ; or what Subject and what Method and Words a Pastor shall use for the present edification of his flock ; or how a Surgeon shall open a Vein, or a Pilot guide his Ship, &c. the Artist may be obeyed before an Emperour, ( by him that careth for his life, or his understanding ). But yet as all these are under the Government of the King, so he may give them general Laws ; especially to restrain them from notorious harmfulness.

*Sir, If all these Propositions be known for the Concord of sober Christians in these matters, I hope neither you, nor I, nor any lover of the Church and Peace, shall need to use much*

against the Opinions of such dissenters. But if they be not, I know not when we shall have concord. And yet that you may see that I am not over solicitous of my Peace, I will make up the number with these less pleasing Propositions.

95. Because *Corruptio optimi, est pessima*, Magistrates and Ministers are of all men ( usually ) either the greatest Blessings or the greatest Burdens of mankind on earth. Saith Campanella, ( Metaph. )

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Potentia} \\ \text{Sapientia} \\ \text{Amis} \end{array} \right\} \text{Corruptio, est} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tyrannis} \\ \text{Heresis} \\ \text{Hypocrisis.} \end{array} \right\} \text{maxima mundi mala.}$$

( though indeed he might as well have named more. ) As Tyranny is in the greatest part of the whole world, ( which is Heathen, Infidel and Popish ) the principal sin, which hindereth the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ, forbiddeth the preaching of the Word of life for mens salvation ( And therefore a sin which no Christian Magistrate or Preacher, should think of, but with great abhorrence, and none by any palliation should befriend it ); so Prudent and Good Princes are under God the Pillars of the world ; For they are the Chief Officers of God, to shew forth his Power, Wisdom and Goodness, Truth and Holiness, Justice and Mercy, in their Government ; And by their Laws to promote the obedience of his Laws ; And to encourage the Preachers and Practicers of Godliness, Sobriety and Righteousness ; And to defend them against the Malignity of those that would silence, oppress and persecute them on earth ; And by their examples and punishments, to bring all ungodliness, intemperance and injustice unto shame. None therefore that possess so great a mercy, should undervalue it, or be unthankful.

96. Wise Rulers will watch the Plots of such enemies, as would use them as the Devil would have used Christ, who carried him to the Pinnacle of the Temple, in hope to have seen him fall the greater : who would have them with Herod arrogate the praise of God unto themselves, or with Pharaoh or Nebuchadnezzar to disdain to be under the Sovereignty of their Maker ? and ascribe to them the Divine Prerogatives ;

Prerogatives; And would make it seem their honest to have Power to do the greatest mischief; that the pretence and claim may make them odious, and so may debilitate and undermine them. That like a draught of cold water to one in a Pleurisie, they may kill them by pleasing them.

97. It is an unchristian carnal craft for the Protestant Clergy of several Opinions, to lay false charges on one another, as being enemies to the Civil Government, when really their principles therein are all the same; Or to make the differences of Statesmen and Lawyers, to be taken for differences in Religion: purposely to make one another ( and their Religion ) odious, and to strengthen themselves by the errors and passions of Princes: till at last they have tempted the world to think as bad of all and of Religion it self, as they have said of one another, and by undermining others fall themselves.

98. But yet that Party who really make a Religion of the Doctrine of Rebellion, are to be disowned by all that will be true to God and to his Officers: In my Sermon to the Parliament the day before they Voted the Restoration of the King, I said somewhat of the difference of the Protestant and Popish Religion, in this point. And a Papist Gentleman first wrote an Invektive against me, as if I had given no proof of what I said: And several persons of unknown names wrote Letters to me to urge and challenge me to prove it: Blindly or wilfully overlooking the undeniable proof which I had there laid down, from one of their General Councils, viz.

*The Decrees of approved General Councils are the Papists Religion: The Decrees of approved General Councils are for the Popes deposing Temporal Lords, if they exterminate not such as deny Transubstantiation, and giving their Dominions to others: Ergo, The Papist Religion is for the Popes deposing Temporal Lords in that case, and giving their Dominions to others.*

The Major is not questioned. The Minor, (besides the Council. Nam. sub Greg. 7. which determineth that the Pope may depose Emperours) I there proved from the express words of Council. Lateran. sub Innoc. 3. Can. 3. which uttereth

ereth it at large. And if any Protestant do (with Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gunning, and Dr. Pierſon) doubt of the authority of thoſe Canons, thats nothing to the Papifts who juſtifie it as an approved Council, and vindicate it, as you may find with copiouſneſs and confidence, in the printed Answer to the laſt named Doctōrs. What impudency then is it in theſe men to challenge me to prove, and yet overlook my proof?

99. CHRISTIANITY according to the Scripture and primitive ſimplicity, in *Doctrīne, Worſhip, Government and Life*, doth conſtitute a CHRISTIAN, and a *Chriſtian Church*. The making of *humane additions and mutable adjuncts* to ſeem *things neceſſary*, doth conſtitute a SECT. ( And alas how ſmall a part of the Chriſtian world, is not entangled in ſome ſuch *Seſt*. ) To be united to all *Chriſtians*, in the bond of *Chriſtianity*, is to be a *Catholick*: To trouble the Churches peace by ſtriving to ſet up one *Seſt* or *Faction*, and ſuppreſs the reſt, is to be a *Schiſmatick* and *Seſlary*.

So then if *ſome* will by a ſuperſtitious unſcriptural rigour of Diſcipline, make every Paſtors power arbitrary ( or the peoples, which is worſe ) in judging of mens inward holineſs, and will lay by the Scripture Title, which is ( *a ſubſer Profeſſion of the Baptiſmal Covenant*. ) and think by this ſtrictneſs to advance the honour of their party, as to purity. They will but endleſſly run into diviſions: And by ſetting themſelves at a greater diſtance, from common Chriſtians, than God alloweth them, provoke him to caſt on them ſome greater ſhame.

And if *any others* will make their *unnecessary forms of Synods*, and other *adjuncts*, to ſeem ſo neceſſary, as to enter into Leagues and Covenants to make them the terms of the Churches Unity, God will not own ſuch terms nor ways; nor will they be durable, while the ground is mutable.

And if in the Countreys where Popery and Church-tyranny prevail, any other more *loſty faction*, ſhall perſwade the people that there muſt be *no King* any longer than *their domination* is upheld; and ſhall ſeek to twist the *corruptions, grandure or mutable adjuncts* of their *function*, by Oaths, into the very *Conſtitution* of the *State*; Like the *Trent Oath*, ſwearing

swearing the Subjects to obey the Church, yea, putting the Church before the State, and swearing them, *not at any time* ( though commanded by the King ) *to endeavour any alteration in that Church-Government ;* no nor to consent to any ; that so the subjects may be as fast bound to them, as they are by the Oath of fidelity to their Kings ; It is time in such a case to pray [ *God save the King* ] and to write on our doors [ *Lord have mercy on us.* ] And a true subject in such cases, when it comes to swearing, must learn Seneca's Lesson, [ *No man more esteemeth vertue, than he that for the love of it can let go the reputation of it ;* ] And must be content to be called *Disloyal, disobedient, seditious,* that he may not be so, nor betray his Soul, his Prince, and his posterity.

100. But to put my self out of the reach of any rational suspicion, besides what is said, I profess, that I ascribe all that Power to Kings, which is given them by any Text of Scripture, or acknowledged by any Council General or Provincial, or by any publick authentick Confession of any Christian Church, either Protestant, Greek or Popish, that ever I yet saw. And if this be not enough as to matter of Religion, ( leaving the Cases of Law to Lawyers ) I can give you no more.

Object. Eccles. 1. 18. *In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.* 7. 16. *Be not righteous over much ; neither make thy self over wise : why shouldst thou destroy thy self ?* 9. 2. *As is the good, so is the sinner : he that sweareth, as he that feareth an Oath.* Isa. 59. 15. *Truth faileth ; and he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey.* 1 Kings 22. 13. *Let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of them, and speak good.*

Ans. V. 14. *As the Lord liveth, what the Lord saith unto me, that I will speak.* Luke 12. 4. *I say to you my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do.* But, 8cc. 1 Thess. 2. 15, 16. *They please not God, and are contrary to all men ; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always ; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

Acts 20. 24. But none of these things move me, neither count  
 I my life dear unto my self, so that I might finish my course  
 with joy, and the Ministry which I have received, &c. 1 Cor.  
 4. 17, 18. For our light affliction which is but for a moment,  
 worketh for us a far more exceeding eternal weight of glory:  
 While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things  
 which are not seen: For the things which are seen are tempo-  
 ral; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.

Sept. 21. 1669.

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Addition:

## Addition : Of the Power of Kings and Bishops out of Bishop Bilson and Andrews.

**L**est you should wrong the sober Episcopal Divines, so as to think that they claim as *jure Divino*, and as Pastoral, any Coercive forcing power, but only an authoritative persuading power, and that of the Keyes of the Church, I will transcribe some of the words of that Learned, Judicious Bishop Bilson in his *Treat. of Christian Subjection* ; By which you will see, that all forcing power claimed by them, is only Magistratical, as they are the Kings Officers, and not from Christ.

Note also that constantly he distinguisheth the Magistrates power from the Pastors, by the [ *Sword* ] as the instrument of execution, which even about Ecclesiastical matters is proper to the Magistrate ; As the power of the *Word* and *Sacraments*, or *Keyes* of the Church, is the Pastors ; And these are the shortest, plainest, and least ambiguous terms ; and more clear than [ *Internal, Ecclesiastical and Civil* ] which have all much obscurity and ambiguity.

Page. 238. *Princes only be Governours in things and Causes Ecclesiastical, that is, with the Sword* — *Bishops be no Governours in those things with the Sword.* ] Page. 240. *We confess Princes to be Supream Governours, — Supream bearers of the Sword — We give Princes no power to devise or invent new Religions, to alter or change Sacraments, to decide or debate doubts of faith, to disturb or infringe the Canons of the Church.*

But of these two last I must tell you, what we Puritans ( as they call us ) hold 1. That the King may and must decide doubts of faith, in order to execution by the *Sword* ( as, who shall be banished or imprisoned as a Teacher of Heresie ) 2. And that Canons *circa sacra* not taking the Pastors proper work out of his hand may be made by the Magistrate even if he please without the Prelates.

And if Pastors make Canons, they are but in order to their proper way of execution.

Page 252. And if Princes shall not bear the Sword, in things and Causes Ecclesiastical, you must tell us who shall— Since by Gods Law the Priest may not meddle with the Sword, the consequent is inevitable, that Princes alone are Gods Ministers, bearing the Sword, to reward and revenge good and evil in all things and causes, be they Temporal, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical: unless you think that disorders and abuses Ecclesiastical should be freely permitted— Page 256. This then is the Supreme power of Princes, which we teach— That they be Gods Ministers in their own Dominions, bearing the Sword, freely to permit and publicly defend that which God commandeth— So may they with just force remove whatsoever is erroneous; vicious; and superstitious within their Lands, and with external losses and corporal pains repress the broachers and abettors of Heresies and all impieties— From which subjection to Princes, no man within their Realms, Monk, Priest, Preacher or Prelate is exempted: And without their Realms no mortal man hath any power from Christ judicially to depose them; much less to invade them in open field, least of all to warrant their Subjects to rebell against them. These be the things which we contend for; and not whether Princes be Christs Masters, or the functions to preach, baptize, impose bands; and forgive sins, must be derived from the Princes power and Laws; or the Apostles might enter to convert Countreys; without Caesars delegations; These be justs and shifts of yours.

Page 261. To Bishops speaking the Word of God, Princes as well as others must yield obedience: But if Bishops pass their Commission; and speak besides the Word of God; what they list, both Prince and people may despise them.

Page 258. His Word is Truth: and therefore your Bishops cannot be Judges of the Word of Christ, but they must be Judges of Christ himself that speaketh by his Word, which is no small presumption— My Sheep hear my voice— They be no Judges of his voice—

Page 259. If you take judging for discerning— the People must be discerners and Judges of that which is taught—

Page 271. Ph. If General Councils might err, the Church might err——Th. As though none were of or in the Church, but only Bishops! Or all the Bishops of Christendome without exception, were ever present at any Council? Or the greater part of those that are present might not strike the stroke without the rest——

See pag. 350, 351, 352. Et seq. That only Magistrates may touch body or goods.

Page 358. The Watchmen and Shepherds that serve Christ in his Church, have their kind of Regiments distinct from the temporal Power and State: But that Regiment of theirs is by Counsel and perswasion, not by terror or Compulsion; and reacheth neither to the goods, nor to the bodies of any men——

Page 366. As for your Episcopal Power over Princes, if that be it you seek for, and not to take their Kingdoms from them, I told you, If they break the Law of God, you may reprove them: If they hear you not, you may leave them in their sin, and shut Heaven against them. If they fall to open Heresie or wilful impiety, you may refuse to communicate with them in prayers and other divine duties; yea, you must rather yield your lives with submission into their hands, than deliver them the Word and Sacraments, otherwise than God hath appointed. ]

( Say you so; I promise you Sir, if Kings must be dealt so strictly with, though it cost you your lives, I will be a Non-conformist a little longer, though it cost me my livelihood, rather than give Baptism, the Lords Supper, Absolution, and the justifying assertions at Burials, as commonly as I must do, if I conform. )

P. 325. Pastors have their kind of Correction even over Princes: but such as by Gods Law, may stand with the Pastors Vocation; and tend to the Princes salvation: and that exceedeth not the Word and Sacraments: Other Correction over any private man Pastors have none; much less over Princes——Princes may force their Subjects by the Temporal Sword——Bishops may not force their flock with any corporal or external violence. Pag. 326. Chrysostom saith——For of all men Christian ( Bishops ) may least correct the faults of men by force: Judges that are without the Church——may compell——But here

here (in the Church) we may not offer any violence, but only persuade. We have not so great authority given us by the Laws as to repress offenders: And if it were lawful for us so to do, we have no use of any such violent power; for that Christ crowneth them which abstain from sin; not of a forced, but of a willing mind——Hilary teacheth the same Lesson; If this violence were used for the true faith, the doctrine of Bishops would be against it. God needeth no forced service: He requireth no constrained confession: I cannot receive any man but him that is willing. I cannot give ear, but to him that intreateth. I cannot sign, (that is, baptize any but him that (gladly) professeth.——So Origen——For all the crimes which God would have revenged, he would have them revenged not by the Bishops and Rulers of the Church, but by the Judges of the world——Bishops by virtue of their Callings cannot command others, or authorize violence or arms.——

Page 541. Parliaments have been kept by the King and his Barons, the Clergy wholly excluded; and yet their Acts and Statutes good. And when the Bishops were present, their Voices from the Conquest to this day, were never Negative. By Gods Law you have nothing to do with making Laws for Kingdoms and Commonwealths: You may teach, you may not command. Persuasion is your part: Compulsion is the Princes.

Page 245. Far better St. Ambrose saith [If the Emperour ask for Tribute, we deny it not: The Lands of the Church pay Tribute: If he affect the Lands themselves, he hath power to take them: no man among us is any let to him. The alms of the people is enough for the poor. Let them never procure us envy for our Lands: let them take them if they please: I do not give them to the Emperour, but I do not deny them.

So far Bilson.

All this we allow: And if all this be the concurrent judgement of all sorts of sober Protestants, called Episcopal or Presbyterians, what reason hath any Erastian upon the account of the Magistrates interest to quarrel with them. If any practise not according to these principles, let them hear of it.

Indeed

Indeed in point of *convenience* we greatly differ from some men: That is, 1. Whether it be *convenient* for the King to make Church-men *Magistrates*, or not? 2. And whether it be *convenient* immediately to back their Excommunications, with the *Sword*; And for the Magistrate to be the Clergies Executioner, or to imprison men *eo nomine*, because excommunicate and not repenting. 3. And whether it be *convenient* to make the *same Court* called Ecclesiastical, so mixt of *Pastoral* and *Secular Power* united, in one Chancellor (who is no Pastor, but a Lay man) or in a Bishop, as that in and by it, the *Magistrates*, and the *Spiritual Government* shall be either confounded, or so twisted as to be undiscernable, or become one *tertium*.

But for this, as we love not to be too forward in teaching Magistrates what is *convenient*, (though many of the ancient Fathers have done it plainly, and spoken against the Magistracy of Priests; and Cyril of *Alexandria* is branded by *Socrates* and others with some infamy, as the first Bishop that used Coercive power); so you have more caule to say what you have to say in this, to the *Magistrate himself*, than to the *Bishops* or *Presbyteries*: For if the Magistrate *will* needs make Priests his Officers, and put his *Sword* into such hands, as have enough to do in their proper work, Or if he will punish men with the *Sword*, because they are punished already by excommunication, or because they repent not, lest excommunication alone should prove uneffectual; quarrel not for his actions with other men: It is his own doing; and it is himself that you blame, when you blame these things: Say not that Prelates or Presbyteries *take the Magistrates power from him*; but say the truth, that the Magistrate *gives it them*, and *will have it* so to be. (Though I excuse none that urge him to it, or voluntarily assume his Power.)

Bishop Andrews also saith *Tortur Torti p. 383.* [*Cobibeas Regem Diaconus, si cum indignus sit, idq; palam constet, accedat tamen ad Sacramentum: Cobibeat & medicus, si ad noxium quid vel insalubre manum admoveat: Cobibeat & Equis, si inter equisandum adigat Equum per lecum præceptum, vel salebrosam, cui subsit periculum. Esti-*

*omne medico? Etiamne Equisani suo subiectus Rex? Sed de Majori potestate loquitur: sed ea ad rem noxiam procul arcendam: quæ in re Charitatis semper Potestas est maxima.*

Here you see what Church Government is in Bishop Andrews sense, and how far the Bishops hold the King himself to be restrainable even by a Deacon; And yet but (I think) according to your own sense, I pray you judge then whether the Bishops and you differ as far as you imagine; and whether the Courts and Church power which offendeth you, be not set up by Kings themselves, who make the Bishops their Officers therein. To which add what *Bilson* proveth that Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Archbishops Dignities are the gift of Princes, and not the institution of Christ, and then you will see more, that it is the Princes own doing.

I add to the like purpose more out of *Bilson* pag. 313. [ *We grant, they must rather hazard their lives, than baptize Princes which believe not, or distribute the Lords mysteries to them that repent not, but give wilful and open signification of iniquity, &c.* ] This is Church Government, which none can contradict.

This is it that *Chrysostom* so often professeth also, as that he would rather let his own blood be shed, than give the blood of Christ to the unworthy.

And *Beds Hist. Eccles. l. 2. cap. 5.* telleth us, that *Melitus* Bishop of London (with *Iustus*) was banished by the heirs of King *Sabareth*, because he would not give them the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which they would needs have before they were baptized.

(And by the way, if Bishops say that *Kings* must be used thus, the Non-conformists are not such intolerable Schismatics, as some now represent them, for desiring, that every Presbyter may not be compelled against his Conscience to give the Sacrament to the basest of the people that are ignorant what Christ or Christianity is, and to them that are not willing to receive it, but are forced to take it against their wills for fear of a Prison; nor to baptize the Children of such Parents as know not what baptism is, or as are professed Infidels, having not so much

as *Christum Adopters*, but only Ceremonious persons  
God-fathers and God-mothers. )

*Papirius Massonus in vita Leonis 1. reciteth his words of the Magistrates banishing the Manichees, and addeth [ Ex hac rei-gesta narratione perspicuum est Romanos Episcopos relegare tunc non potuisse, nec in exilium reos mittere, nil hodie faciunt; sed eos tantum censura coercere, & pœna ecclesiastica mulcare.*

I add no more, supposing that almost all sober Episcopal, Presbyterians, Independents and Erastians are agreed in all the first ninety four Propositions, ( if not all ) that are here asserted; and that all those may suffice to signify their Concord, and promote their Reconciliation, if Interest ( mistaken ) and Passion ( mis-guided ) did not much more than difference of judgement in these matters, to cause their alienation.

And as I have written this to vindicate both the Power of Kings, and the Office of Pastors from any mens unjust suspicions or accusations, who look only on one side; and to shew that these Offices are no more contrary than *Head* and *Heart*, than *Light* and *Heat*: so I do require the Reader to put no sense upon any thing here written, which is injurious to the Government of Magistrates or Pastors, or contrary to the Laws: For all such senses I do hereby disclaim.

FINIS.